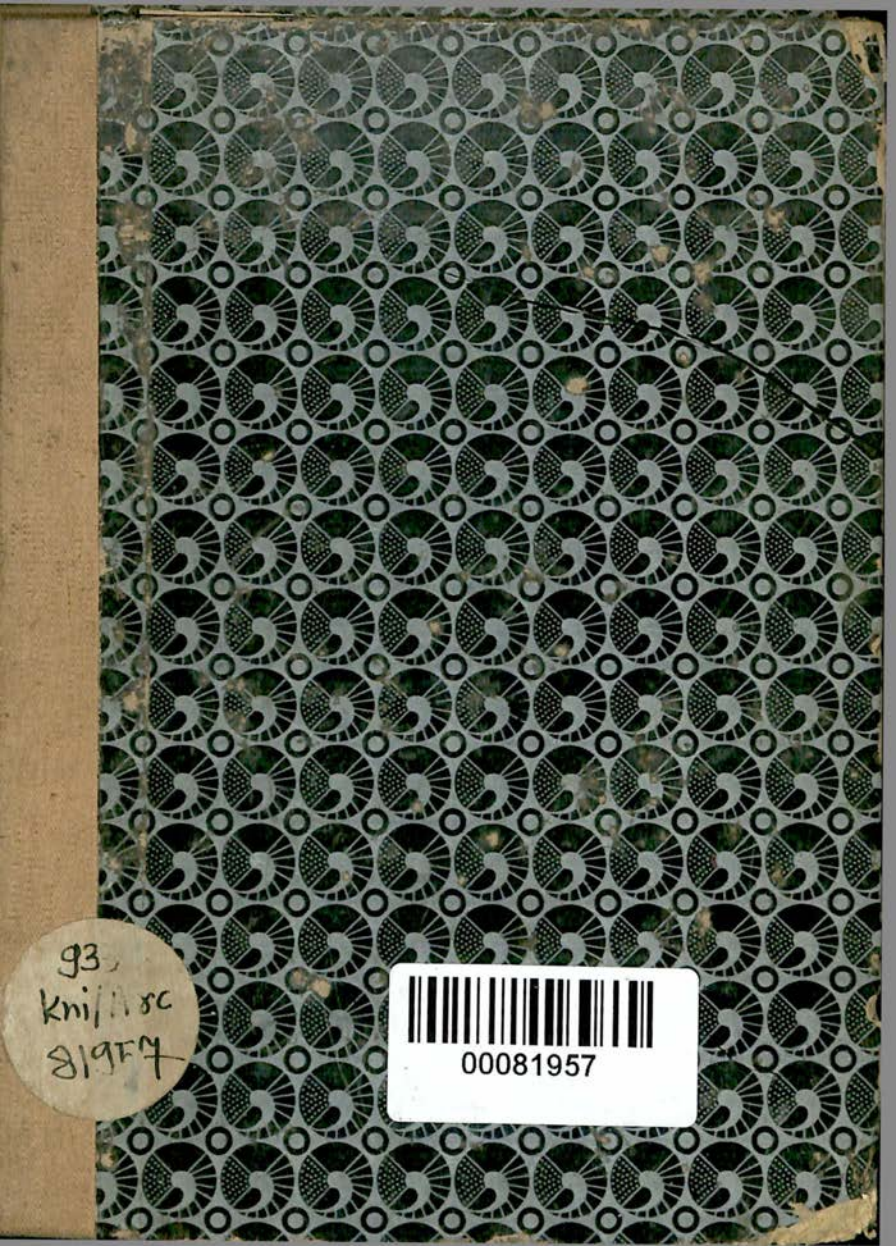
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THE ARCH OF TITUS VESPASIANUS.

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THE ARCH OF TITUS

AND

THE SPOILS OF THE TEMPLE,

AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL LECTURE

WITH AUTHENTIC ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

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WHEN FREDERICK THE GREAT ASKED PROFESSOR GELLERT, WHAT HE THOUGHT OF JESUS CHRIST, GELLERT IS SAID TO HAVE REPLIED,—WHAT THINKS YOUR MAJESTY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM?

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

This Lecture was read at the Bristol Fine Arts Academy, in aid of a fund for building a School-room in my parish: and, having been successful in that instance, I have been induced to publish it, with some enlargement, and with the addition of the most important authorities, in behalf of another parochial School-room; which, I am happy to say, has also been erected by the subscriptions contributed to this volume.

I trust, however, that it may be further useful, as unfolding a subject of considerable attraction to those who take an interest in Biblical antiquities, and especially as presenting an important illustration of our Lord's marvellous prophetic prescience; a subject which cannot be lightly regarded by those who feel, as Christians, a godly jealousy for the truthful honour of their Lord's Word.

In vain did Titus try to save the Temple; in vain did Julian endeavour to rebuild it: the Word of God stood fast: and, if men call in question its veracity, 'the stone will cry out of the wall' in defence of it, as indeed it has done in the present day. The Sculptures of Nineveh are indisputable witnesses to the historic records of the Old Testament, as those on the Arch of Titus illustrate the prophetic pages of the New.

W. K.

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ERRATUM—Pp. 1, 2, *for* A.D. 63, *read* A.D. 33.

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Ὅ τ' ἐξελέγχων μόνος
ἀλάθειαν ἐτήτυμον
χρόνος· τὸ δὲ σαφανὲς ἰὼν πόρσω
κατέφρασεν, ὅπα τὰν πολέμοιο δώτιν
ἀκρόθινα διελὼν ἔθυε.

THE ARCH OF TITUS

AND

THE SPOILS OF THE TEMPLE.

Our Lord's last words to the Jews. Paschal week. A.D. 63.

st public address to the Jews, ut to take his final departure from the le tells them that the heaviest woes are ver them,—their rulers, their teachers, and their metropolis,—and that their ould be left unto them desolate; that which they so much gloried, which He calls his Father's House, but theirs; for was about to withdraw from it and to to ruin.

'Behold,' said He, 'I send unto you prophets, men, and scribes; and some of them ye and crucify; and some of them ye shall n your synagogues, and persecute them to city; that upon you may come all the

Our Lord's last words to the Jews. Paschal week. A.D. 63.

righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar. Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation.[1]

And yet this denunciation was mingled with compassion, which broke forth in those farewell words: 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your House is left unto you desolate.[2] For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.'

With these words our Lord closed his mission to the Jewish rulers and people: all his subsequent addresses were delivered to his disciples.

[1] *Matt.* xxiii. 34—36.

[2] Qui de Templo interpretantur recte agunt, nam ab eo pendebat totus cultus Israeliticus, imo ipsa quoque respublica. Præterea Templum Judæis [illegible] dicitur [illegible]. Schoettgen. *Horæ Hebr. et Talm.* in *Matt.* xxiii. 38. Hæc interpretatio, ob comma 39, præferenda esse videtur. Rosenmüller in

And as He was about to quit the Temple some of them, astonished at his words, exclaimed, 'See what stones, and what buildings are here!' For we are told that many of the marble blocks, which were used in the construction of that magnificent edifice, were more than forty cubits long.[1] What, is all this doomed to destruction; this House, in which we and our fathers have worshipped, reverenced by prophets and adorned by kings? Yes, even so; as He had already told them, when He wept over the impenitent city. 'For the days are coming, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and shall compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.'[2]

Prophecies in answer to his disciples.

They had called Him to look at the Temple's grandeur and stability; He calls them to take a very different view of it. 'See ye not all these things? Verily, I say unto you, that there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. v. 6. [2] *Luke* xix. 43, 44.

Of the destruction of the Temple.

cast down:' and then, on their reaching the Mount of Olives, whence they had the city full in view, in answer to the question, When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? our Lord delivered that great prophecy of his final advent in power and glory, to judge the quick and dead, at his appearing and his kingdom, and of his previous coming in judgment on Jerusalem, with the signs of her approaching day of doom.

Of the days of vengeance on Jerusalem.

In the first place He charges them—for these prophecies assume the form of warnings, when addressed to his disciples—to beware of being deceived by false Christs and false prophets; many of whom would come in his name. He then tells them, that they would hear of wars and tumults, nation against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, but that the end would not be yet: then that there would be famines and pestilences, and earthquakes, with fearful signs and sights from heaven; yet these would be but the beginnings of sorrow: then that his disciples would be delivered up to councils, and be beaten in synagogues, and brought before rulers; but that the Lord would be with

them in their hour of peril. In the meantime, He adds, that the Gospel of the Kingdom would be preached for a witness throughout the Roman world: and that, in coincidence with that event, Jerusalem would be encompassed with armies,—the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel, standing where it ought not on holy ground: that this must be taken by his disciples as a warning to flee from the scene of approaching tribulation; for these would be the days of vengeance, of which the Old Testament prophets had written,—such days as the world had never witnessed, nor ever will again in all time: that Jerusalem would be trodden down by the Gentiles; that her people would fall by the edge of the sword, and be led away captive into all nations: and He concludes by predicting that the eagles of the conquerors would seize upon the carcase of their fallen commonwealth.[1]

Of the days of vengeance on Jerusalem.

Such is the sum of those great prophecies, of which we have in the Arch of Titus an important witness and expositor; that is, of the event in which they all converge: and in Josephus' History of the Jewish War we have a testimony, no less

The Arch a witness and expositor.

[1] *Matt.* xxiv. *Mark* xiii. *Luke* xxi.

The Arch a witness and expo- nt

unexceptionable; for not only was he present, as a leader or as a captive, throughout the whole of the great conflict, but he could have had no wish to subserve that cause to which his History has so largely contributed.

nan vernors,

3. When our Lord uttered these predictions Judæa had become a part of a Roman province, and till the third year after the Ascension was under the government of Pilate. He was succeeded by seven other procurators in the course of the next thirty years; under whom the Jews had much to endure in struggling to regain their national independence. Two of these rulers, Felix and Florus, have been deeply branded by their own historian for malversation in their high office; [1] though they were not the only ones, according to Josephus, who abused their authority to the basest purposes. In fact, the whole history of this procuratorship, with the exception chiefly of the early part of it, is but a record of oppression and extortion, which rose at length to so intolerable a height, as to drive the Jews into a desperate resistance to the overwhelming power of Rome.

[1] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. x. 11.

The flames of the revolt broke out at Cæsarea, the head-quarters of the Roman Government, on Nero's conferring its municipal privileges on the Syrian Gentiles to the exclusion of the Jews.[1] This was a great and grievous wrong. A contest then arose there about a synagogue and an interference with the Jewish worship, which was quickly followed, in that and other places, by tumults and conflicts of various kinds; sometimes traceable to Roman violence, in others to the blind and reckless fury of the Zealots, often to the state of the Jewish mind in general, maddened by the falling fortunes of their country. I can but glance at these events, so far as the subject of my Lecture may require.

Florus, instead of vindicating the Jews, in the case just mentioned at Cæsarea, took a bribe to protect them, and left the city. Then, under pretext of the emperor's service, he plundered the Temple treasury at Jerusalem, and on this exciting a violent disturbance, he broke into houses, massacred their inmates, scourged and even crucified some of the chief citizens; and, after having slaughtered, in a collision with his soldiers,

[1] *Bell. Jud.* II. xiv. 4.

a large number of the irritated populace, he returned to his residence at Cæsarea.[1]

Urged on by the Zealots. Aug. A.D. 66.

After this an effort was made by Agrippa to induce the people to submit to Florus, till the emperor should send them a better ruler; but they rejected his advice with scorn and violence: nay, more, the priests were persuaded by the Zealots to refuse the admission of any gift or sacrifice that might be offered to the Temple by a foreigner. This was denounced by the peace-party as nothing less than a declaration of war against the emperor, for whom they had been used to offer daily sacrifice, and as branding also their city with impiety;[2] for the practice of receiving offerings from foreign princes was of long standing in the Jewish Temple, and was expressly sanctioned by the law of Moses.[3] But it was vain to reason with the men of this party. Florus was informed of the state of the city; but so little did he care for its distractions that the intelligence was welcome news to him. These tumults served to screen his atrocities, and to prevent complaints against him being sent

[1] *Bell. Jud.* II. xiv. [2] *Ibid.* II. xvii.
[3] *Numbers* xv. 14—16.

to Rome.[1] Agrippa, from a wish to serve both nations, sent a large body of cavalry to keep the peace; but they could not stand against the Zealots, who did not scruple to increase their power by the introduction of many of the sicars or brigands, who then infested the country in great numbers. With these they proceeded to various acts of violence. They destroyed Agrippa's palace and the high priest's house. They burnt the public records and the debtors' contracts. They massacred the garrison of the great fortress of the Antonia, at the north-west angle of the Temple platform; and, after putting down the rival band of Manahem, they slaughtered, under a pledge of protection, the guards that had fled to the Royal Towers, with the single exception of Metilius, their commander, who was spared on his engaging to become a Jew.[2]

Urged on by the Zealots. Aug. A.D. 66.

On the same day the Gentiles in Cæsarea slaughtered all its Jewish population, to the number of more than twenty thousand; an atrocity which so roused the Jews in those quarters, that, forming separate bands for the purpose, they

Other tumults at Cæsarea.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* II. xiv. 3. [2] *Ibid.* II. xvii.

Other tumults at Cæsarea. Aug. A. D. 66.

fiercely attacked the Gentile population, while the Gentiles as fiercely retorted upon them; nation against nation, as our Lord had predicted amongst the signs of the coming judgments on Jerusalem; till every town, according to Josephus, had become, as it were, two hostile camps. At length the Syrian president, Cestius Gallus, deeming it imprudent to be longer inactive, while the Jews in his province were everywhere in arms, advanced from Antioch with the twelfth legion and a large amount of other troops; and sending detachments to Zabulon and Joppa, and into Lower Galilee and Narbatene, he checked the insurrection in all those places, and re-assembled his forces at Cæsarea.[1]

Cestius's advance and repulse. Oct. A. D. 66.

4. Thence he advanced to Bethhoron and Gibeon.[2] There he was met by a large body of Jews, under Simon, son of Gioras, who fell upon the Romans with great fury, and drove them back with considerable loss. Cestius, however, soon rallied and advanced, and pitched his camp upon Scopus, about a mile to the north of Jerusalem;

[1] *Bell. Jud.* II. xviii.

[2] In Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II. xix. 1, it is Γαβαώ: but there seems, according to Reland, *Palæst.* vol. ii. s. v. Gibeon, to be no doubt of their identity.

and, attacking the Jews with all his force, pursued them even to the gates of the city, and established himself within the outer wall. And now, at least in the judgment of Josephus, Cestius might have taken the city, and have brought the war at once to a close, had he not been prevented by Florus, who had no wish to see the war at an end. After waiting, however, for a few days, without effecting anything decisive, he drew off his troops, and retired to Scopus, whilst the Jews sallied forth and harassed his retreat.[1]

Cestius's advance and repulse. Oct. A.D. 66.

The next day Cestius, with the Jews in pursuit of him, reached his former encampment at Gibeon. Thence he was compelled to retreat to Bethhoron; and there his army must have utterly perished, driven with slaughter down the deep ravine, but that, under cover of the night, he succeeded in effecting his escape to Antipatris, with the loss of more than five thousand men, and of all his military engines; which were taken to Jerusalem and turned against the Romans in the course of the ensuing siege.[2]

Battle of Bethhoron. Nov. A.D. 66.

It is remarkable that this Bethhoron is the spot

[1] *Bell. Jud.* II. xix. 1—5. [2] *Ibid.* II. xix. 7—9.

Battle of Bethhoron. Nov. A.D. 66.

where the Jews obtained their first great victory over the five confederate kings of Canaan, which led to their conquest of the whole country. This victory over Cestius was their last, at an interval of nearly fifteen hundred years, and on the eve of their expulsion from the land of their fathers.

Many quit the city.

Josephus remarks upon these events, that if Cestius had then taken the city, the Temple would probably have survived; but that, owing as he thinks to the people's wickedness, the Lord was even then so estranged from his sanctuary, that He hindered the war from coming to a close. May we not suppose, without presumption, that He had also, in his gracious providence, other objects in view? For after this defeat of Cestius many of the more respectable Jews abandoned the city, as a sinking ship; and many Christians did the same, acting on the warning which the Lord had given them, and in apprehension of the coming storm.[1]

[1] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κεστίου συμφορὰν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένης νεὼς, ἀπενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως. *Bell. Jud.* II xix. 6. These Jews, who 'swam,' as it were, out of the city, are supposed to be the 'strangers' whom St. John speaks of in his *Third Epistle;* who had migrated with him at this crisis into Asia Minor; for whom

5. For now, encouraged by this victory over Cestius, the revolt began to assume a more important character, under leaders of great ability; especially Josephus, who had under his command the strong town of Gamala, on the east of the Lake, and who was also president of both Galilees:[1] and, in short, so important did the revolt appear at Rome, that Vespasian, who had just returned from Germany and Britain, was sent by Nero to put it down; and in a few months was joined by Titus, with the fifteenth legion and other reinforcements; forming altogether an army of sixty thousand men.[2]

Vespasian's mission. End of A.D. 66.

As soon as the troops were organized at Ptolemais, they advanced into the interior, and burnt the town of Gadara, in revenge of outrages committed against Cestius; and, after a siege of forty days, they succeeded in taking Jotapata, with enormous slaughter and a multitude of prisoners; amongst whom was their leader, Josephus; who afterwards

Fall of Gadara and Jotapata.

he pleads so earnestly with Gaius, and who were probably soon received into the Christian Church.—Lampe's *Comment. in Joan.* vol. I. Proleg. I. VII. xvi.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* III. iii.

[2] *Ibid.* III. iv.

became a great favourite of Vespasian, and even adopted the Flavian name.[1]

Subjugation of Galilee. Autumn, A.D. 67.

Then other towns surrendered to the Romans. Joppa, now again in revolt, was destroyed. Tiberias, on the Lake, submitted to Vespasian, and Tarichæa, at its south-west corner, was taken by Titus after a very hard contest, and its vast population slaughtered or sold: a conquest which was considered of so much importance as to call for special notice amongst the sculptures on the Arch. After this and other bloody conflicts and captures, all Galilee, with Gischala, its last survivor, surrendered to the Roman arms.[2]

Factions in Jerusalem.

In the meantime, Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of three fierce rival factions, and was suffering especially from the fury of the Zealots; who, whilst denouncing all others as enemies of their country, were themselves chief agents of its ruin.[3]

Changes at Rome. A.D. 67, 68.

6. Vespasian now began to turn his attention to the Trans-jordanic towns and to the south, and had indeed subdued, with the exception of Jerusalem, all the most important places in those quarters, when tidings reached him of the death

[1] *Bell. Jud.* III. vii. viii. [2] *Ibid.* III. ix. x. [3] *Ibid.* IV. vi.

of Nero, and of Galba's accession to the throne. This induced him to defer all further active measures, whilst he sent Titus to congratulate the new emperor, and to receive his commands in reference to the war.[1]

Vespasian Emperor. July, A.D. 69.

Again, in the course of a few months, he began to put the army in motion, when the news arrived of the deposition of Vitellius, who had succeeded Galba and Otho. Upon this the legions in Judæa and Egypt declared for Vespasian's elevation to the empire; and accordingly, sending Titus to reduce the Jewish capital, he himself set out for Rome.[2]

Titus on Scopus. Spring, A.D. 70.

7. In consequence of these imperial changes, the war was suspended for nearly a year; but this was no relief to the distracted city, where faction raged more than ever under Simon, John, and Eleazar; the Assassin, the Tyrant, and the Zealot, as they have been called. Simon had possession of the Upper town, John of the Lower town or Acra, and Eleazar of the Temple platform; and thence they were carrying on their mutual assaults, when Titus appeared upon the heights

[1] *Bell. Jud.* IV. viii. ix. [2] *Ibid.* IV. xi.

Titus on Scopus. Spring, A. D. 70.

near Jerusalem, with four legions and a large body of auxiliaries.[1]

Now it was time, if not before, for all that would escape from the great impending tribulation to flee to the mountains, as the Lord had charged them; when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies; 'the abomination of desolation on holy ground.'[2]

The abomination of desolation.

This portentous phrase, or at least its equivalent, was first applied to the desecration of the Temple, when Antiochus set up in it the statue of Jupiter.[3] Here it probably refers to the Roman standards, with their tutelary images of gods and emperors, surmounted by an eagle grasping the thunderbolt, which were afterwards brought into the Temple by Titus; and which some writers on the prophecy have regarded as the main event referred to in our Lord's words. True it is, that act of Titus, which we shall presently have to notice, was 'the consummation of that desolation,' which he was permitted to bring upon God's House; but it was rather to the

[1] *Bell. Jud.* v. i.—iii.

[2] *Matt.* xxiv. 15, 16. *Mark* xiii. 14; with *Luke* xxi. 20, 21.

[3] 2 *Maccab.* i. 54, p. 49. Cotton's ed. 3 *Maccab.* vi. 2, p. 170. *Dan.* xi. 31.

appearing of the Roman eagles, at the head of their legions, near the city, rivalling the Temple of the God of Israel, that our Lord applied the language of the prophet;[1] for the whole territory, and especially Mount Olivet, on which He was standing when He uttered the prophecy, and on which the tenth legion was afterwards encamped, was considered by the Jews as holy ground.[2] As objects which the Romans were in the practice of worshipping, these eagles were an abomination to the Jews; as standards round which the soldiers rallied, they might be called 'the abomination that maketh desolate:' the Romans called them their gods of battle.[3] Their appearance with 'the

The legions encamping.

[1] 'Talia signa Titus conspicua in castris suis posuit, quasi templum Templo Hierosolymitano contrarium. Nam et Tacitus alibi ita loquitur; Fulgentibus aquilis signisque et simulacris Deûm, in modum templi.'—Grotius, *Annotat. ad Matt.* xxiv. 15.

[2] Bengel, on *Matt.* xxiv. 15; 1 *Maccab.* x. 31; *Bell. Jud.* v. ii. iii.

[3] 'Religio Romanorum,' says Tertullian, 'tota Castrensis signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus Deis præponit.'—*Apol. adv. Gentes*, xvii. Thus Antony is represented by Tacitus as imploring their help: 'Conversus ad signa et bellorum Deos orabat.'—*Hist.* iv. x. And Germanicus is said to have exhorted his soldiers: 'Irent, sequerenturque Ro-

The legions encamping.

legions encompassing Jerusalem,' was to be a sign to our Lord's disciples to make good their flight from the devoted city.[1] Many had fled on the invasion of Cestius, though it did not reach the terms of our Lord's prophecy. Now the disciples could not doubt that the days of vengeance were near at hand; and in following this and other monitions,—especially the brief interval then afforded them, and which was one of the most remarkable circumstances of the crisis,—they fled to Pella, on the mountain slopes of Gilead; which, as under Agrippa, and in alliance with the emperor, became their chief asylum in the great catastrophe.[2]

manas aves, propria legionum numina.'—*Annal.* II. xvii.

[1] Κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων. Raphel notices κυκλουμένην as comprehending the whole time of investing the city, and στρατόπεδα as then in use for Roman legions.—*Annotat. in Luc.* xxi. 20.

[2] This well-known interpretation, which is adopted by Grotius, Wetstein, Bengel, Newcome, Lange, and others, results from comparing *Matt.* xxiv. 15, 16, with *Luke* xxi. 20, 21. It has, however, been questioned in two of the most important recent commentaries; but not, as it appears to me, with success. (1) It is objected that τὸ βδέλυγμα must mean a pro-

8. Titus' first object, on arriving at Jerusalem, was to ascertain the inclinations of the Jews; for

Titus' further advance.

fanation by the Jews themselves. But the word is applied, as we have seen, 1 *Maccab.* i. 54, to a statue which was set up by heathen hands; and Josephus applies *Dan.* ix. 27, to the desolation by the Romans, *Antiq.* x. xi. Βδέλυγμα is defined by Cyril Alex. in Schleusner, *Lex. Vet. Test.*: πρᾶξις παρὰ τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον πραττόμενη, καὶ πᾶν εἴδωλον, καὶ πᾶν ἐκτύπωμα ἀνθρώπου οὕτω ἐκαλεῖτο παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις. (2) It is objected that the Roman eagles could be no sign to the Jews, having been seen by them on holy ground for many years, and even at the time when the prophecy was uttered. On the contrary, we are told by Josephus that, when at peace with the Jews, the Romans never used to take their idol standards into Jerusalem, *Antiq.* XVIII. iii.; that when Pilate did so he was obliged immediately to remand them to Cæsarea, *Ibid.* and *Bell. Jud.* II. ix.; and that when Vitellius was about to march through Judæa, soon after our Lord delivered this prophecy, he sent his forces by another route, in deference to the representations of the Jews, who said that the laws of their country would not tolerate the presence of these idols. *Antiq.* XVIII. v. (3) It is objected that τόπος ἅγιος can mean only the Temple. But is there not here an obvious distinction between τόπος ἅγιος and τὸ ἱερόν? Our Lord's citation is from *Dan. LXX.* Cod. Alex. ix. 27: Ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται. Instead, however, of ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν, we have the indefinite ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ. The disciples were not to wait till the βδέλυγμα was ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν; then it would be too late to fly; but as soon as it

Titus' further advance.

he had been told that they were desirous of peace; but on his attempting to take a survey of the city, he was surrounded by a body of Jewish soldiers, and escaped with difficulty out of their hands.[1] At length he began to bring his legions nearer, which induced the Jewish factions for a while to unite, and to join in frequent sallies against the common enemy; but they were soon again involved in bloody strife, which ended in the overthrow of Eleazar's party, and in John's obtaining possession of the Temple platform: conduct so prevalent throughout the siege, as to give some colour to the remark of Josephus: 'That sedition subdued the city, and the Romans the sedition; a sedition much stronger than her walls.'[2]

appeared ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, they were to depart. (4) No other fulfilment of the prophecy has been suggested which appears to be satisfactory to the judgment even of the objectors. (5) As to the disciples' flight to Pella, see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* III. v.; Epiphanius, *De Mensuris*, XV., and Dean Stanley's *Palestine*, c. VIII.; as to Agrippa's inclination to favour them, Townson's *Discourses*, IV. v.; as to their final opportunity of escape, and for a comprehensive view of this interpretation, Abp. Newcome, *On Our Lord's Conduct*, III. i. pp. 219, 220.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* V. ii.

[2] Φημὶ γὰρ, ὡς τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡ στάσις, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ

The siege meanwhile was earnestly prosecuted. Titus pitched his camp on Scopus, where Cestius had encamped three years before: the tenth legion occupied Mount Olivet, and other forces were stationed on the west. And as this was now the paschal season the city was unusually full. Josephus reckons that there might have been in it more than two millions seven hundred thousand souls, because more than that number are said to have been there at a paschal census a few years previous.[1] Simon had still possession of the Upper town, with about fifteen thousand soldiers; John held the Temple with about seven thousand; and

The city invested. April, A.D. 70.

εἶλον τὴν στάσιν, ἥπερ ἦν πολὺ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρωτέρα.—*Bell. Jud.* v. vi.

[1] A rough, and it may be an exaggerated estimate, founded on the number of lambs which are said to have been offered at the passover, A.D. 63, of which an account was taken by order of Cestius. According to one manuscript they amounted to 256,000; according to another, to 255,600. There were probably at least ten partakers of each lamb, and, in addition to these, there were a great many other persons who were ceremonially unfit. *Bell. Jud.* VI. ix. It should also be borne in mind that, at this great festival, the suburbs of the city were generally covered with tents and other temporary structures, for the reception of the multitudes who frequented it.

on Ophel, the southern ridge of Mount Moriah, and in the Valley of the Tyropœon, they waged their bloody conflicts from day to day.[1]

Titus takes the first and second walls.

Titus, having completed his arrangements, attacked the outer wall of the city, which soon gave way before his engine, the Conqueror; and he advanced his camp into the New town, or Bezetha, and took up his position at the north-west corner, where the Assyrians under Sennacherib had formerly encamped. From that point he extended his forces even to the ridge of the Valley of the Kedron; the district which has since been the ground of attack by the Saracen, the Crusader, and the Turk. On the fifth day from the reduction of the first wall, Titus assailed the second; which formed the outward boundary of the Lower city, from the Gate of Gennath to the tower of the Antonia; and he entered through the breach with a thousand men, the band which he usually retained about his person. From this position he was soon driven, but he recovered his ground in a few days, and, after demolishing the second wall, began to think of attacking the inner one; the Jews still re-

[1] *Bell. Jud.* v. ii.—vi.

taining the Upper city, the Temple, and the Antonia.[1]

Titus proposes a surrender.

Well aware of the strength of their position, Titus sent Josephus to confer with his countrymen, and to propose terms of surrender. But his proposal met with no response but curses, jeers, and missiles from their engines, though their intestine difficulties were rapidly increasing from the failure of their stores and the prospect of a famine, which was gaining upon them every day; a calamity which the factions had hastened on by their reckless destruction of each other's granaries.[2]

Rejected; he tries to compel them.

At length, with a view to force them to surrender, Titus began to scourge and crucify those who, in order to escape the famine, came over to the Roman camp. Thus hundreds perished every day; Titus continuing to warn their leaders not to compel him to destroy their town and Temple; suggestions which were answered only by declaring,—That they preferred death to slavery, and that their Temple would be saved by Him who dwelt in it; in whose hands was the issue of the war.[3]

[1] *Bell. Jud.* v. vii. viii. [2] *Ibid.* v. iv. [3] *Ibid.* v. xi.

False hopes of the besieged.

So indeed they persisted in declaring to the last; sustained moreover by a firm belief in what Josephus calls an ambiguous prophecy: That about this time, One from their country would obtain the dominion of the world.[1] This, says he, they applied to themselves; and many of their wise men were deceived in their judgment of it; for, in his opinion, it plainly indicated the supremacy of Vespasian, who had been proclaimed emperor in Judæa.[2]

A prophecy mistaken.

The prophecy is that in the book of Micah, which the Sanhedrin adduced when Herod demanded of them where the promised Christ would be born.[3] It seems, in a vague and mutilated form, to have been widely known amongst the heathen, and to have given rise to those well-known expectations, which Roman writers, as well as Josephus, referred to Vespasian's elevation to the throne. Had it not been shorn of its commencement and its close,—the rise of this great

[1] Τὸ δὲ ἐπάραν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἦν χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὑρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης.—*Bell. Jud.* VI. V.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* VI. V. 4.

[3] *Matt.* ii. 1—6.

Ruler in Bethlehem and his goings forth from the days of old, those manifestations of his divine character,—the prophecy could never have been made to minister to the pride and folly of a Roman emperor.[1]

Circumvallation of the city. May, A.D. 70.

9. Titus, on the rejection of his proposal to surrender, set his men again to work, raising mounds and planting engines against the Antonia, and in several other quarters; but their work was undermined and burnt by the besieged.[2] Accordingly, when all these efforts failed, he proposed to raise a wall all round the city, that thus, by increasing the pressure of the famine, he might effect an easier, perhaps an earlier conquest.[3]

No sooner was the project formed than it was done. The work was distributed to the whole army in shares; and, impelled by a sort of preternatural enthusiasm,[4] the wall was accomplished in three

[1] *Micah* v. 2. This prophecy, thus stript of its beginning and its end, seems to be the prediction referred to by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. xiii. 'Eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens profectique Judæa rerum potirentur.'

[2] *Bell. Jud.* v. vi.

[3] *Ibid.* v. xi. xii.

[4] Ὁρμὴ δέ τις ἐμπίπτει δαιμόνιος τοῖς στρατιώταις.—*Bell. Jud.* v. xii.

Circumvallation of the city.

days. Legion vied with legion, and cohort with cohort; nay, every soldier in the army, says Josephus, private, decurion, centurion, tribune, strove to please those immediately above him; whilst the rivalry of the tribunes extended to the general officers, and Titus fostered the rivalry of these, going round in person often every day, and seeing how the work was going on.[1]

Course of the wall.

The Wall commenced at the tent of Titus. It thence went eastward to the lower part of the New town, and across the Kedron to the Mount of Olives; thence towards the south to the rock called Peristereon, which is probably the site of the Tombs of the Prophets. It thence went over the adjoining hill, which overhangs the ravine near Siloam; thence, towards the west, to the Valley of the Fountain; from whence it ascended to the Tomb of Ananus; and then, taking in the mount where Pompey had encamped, it turned to the north, as far as the hamlet or House of Erebinths; and then enclosing Herod's monument, it rejoined the camp of Titus, whence it had started.[2]

[1] *Bell. Jud.* v. xii. [2] *Ibid.* v. xii. 2.

This record of the Wall is one of great interest, especially in its connexion with our Lord's prophecy. Though so ancient a topographical document, its line may be traced with tolerable certainty through all the places above-mentioned, except the site of Pompey's camp, and that of the hamlet on the north of it. This encampment was evidently on the west of the city; where Pompey may probably have halted for a time, as he advanced from Jericho up the Valley of Hinnom, till he finally took up his position on the north, at the only point from which the city was assailable: or, as it has been recently suggested,[1] after he had taken up that position, he may have stationed a portion of his forces on the west, as Titus did under similar circumstances. With however no other account of this encampment than the passing notice in this record of the Wall, we cannot determine its exact site. Nor can we settle that of the hamlet beyond it: Reland merely mentions its existence

An important record.

[1] *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. Jerusalem, vol. i. p. 1003. Strabo, Tacitus, and Dion Cassius also mention Pompey's siege, but they say nothing of any encampment except that on the north of the city.

without attempting to give its locality. It was probably a group of two or three granaries, as the name indeed implies.[1]

Construction of the wall.

The Wall itself was probably similar to those which the Romans generally constructed in their sieges. The word in Josephus may be any kind of wall; that in the Evangelist, which is rendered a Trench, signifies more than a mere excavation. It signifies, as Raphel has fully shown, a rampart of wooden piles or stakes, which were fixed in and wattled on a mound of earth, to which the earth from the trench of course contributed.[2] And it is remarkable, that our Lord, in this instance, as well as in his prediction of 'the abomination of desolation,' cites the words of an Old Testament prophecy, which had probably received a partial fulfilment in the invasion of Jerusalem by the Assyrians; leaving, however, many details to be realized in the still more comprehensive Roman siege.'[3]

[1] Μέχρι κώμης τινὸς, Ἐρεβίνθων οἶκος καλεῖται. Domus cicerum. *Palæstina*, vol. ii. p. 766.

[2] See Raphel's elaborate note on χάραξ, and on our Lord's words, περιβαλοῦσιν οἱ ἐχθροί σου χάρακά σοι. *Annotat. in Luc.* xix. 43. Josephus uses τεῖχος, and περιτειχίζειν.

[3] *Isaiah* xxix. 3, 4. Καὶ

10. And now the Wall being carried round the city, with towers for garrisons at frequent intervals, and with guards in them on duty by day and by night, so as prevent all possibility of escape, the misery of the captives soon reached its height. Famine raged there, and death in all its horrors. The dead, too numerous to be buried within the walls, were cast over into the ravines; and we are told, that as Titus went round the city, and saw them full of dead bodies, in a state that excited horror and disgust, he groaned aloud, and called God to witness that it was not his doing.[1]

The famine sets in.

Yet what was this but the 'tyrant's plea,' how-

Titus' apology.

κυκλώσω ἐπὶ σὲ, καὶ βαλῶ περὶ σὲ χάρακα, καὶ θήσω περὶ σὲ πύργους· καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου δύσονται· καὶ ἔσονται ὡς οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡ φωνή σου, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος ἡ φωνή σου ἀσθενήσει. Many early writers have noticed our Lord's adoption of this *LXX.* version of the prophecy; which, compared with Josephus' account of the capture of Simon and his companions (*Bell. Jud.* VII. ii.), affords a curious and interesting illustration of what Bacon calls 'The germinant accomplishment of prophecies, extending throughout many ages, though their height and fulness may refer to one.' *Adv. of Learning*, Book ii. Vitringa takes the same view of it.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* V. xii.

Titus' apology.

ever it might satisfy himself or others? Why, if he really pitied their sufferings, did he drive to this extremity a brave people, whose only crime, so far as he was cognizant, was that of standing up for their national liberty? This 'Darling and delight of all the world,' though such was the current phrase of his admirers, was but a strange phenomenon, as Niebuhr remarks.[1] Whatever claim he may have had to the title, as compared with persons of his own age and order, we look in vain for any just ground for it, even in the partial pages of Josephus.

A further proposal.

11. Still we are told that he wished to save the city: and having heard that the daily sacrifice had ceased, and that the people were in consequence greatly disheartened, he proposed to John of Gischala, who held the Antonia, to come down and terminate the war, without involving the Temple in ruin. 'If,' said he, 'you will but change the scene of conflict, no Roman shall approach or profane the holy places: nay, I will save them even against your will.'[2]

[1] Suetonius, *Tit. Flav. Vesp.* i.; Niebuhr's *Rome*, by Schmitz, vol. ii. p. 242.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* VI. ii.

This, like all his previous proposals, was rejected. Upon which, as he could not bring up all his forces, owing to the confined nature of the ground, Titus selected the best men of each century, and ordered them, under command of Cerealius, to attack the Jewish garrison the night following. All the night he watched the conflict, as did also the Jewish chief; and the struggle continued, neither party yielding, till near the middle of the next day.[1]

The Antonia assaulted.

In the mean time another division of Romans, having broken through the foundations of the Antonia, had forced a wide ascent as far as the Temple; though they suffered severely from the resistance of the Jews, who fought with all the vigour and daring of despair. At length the Jews were driven into the Temple; from which they then cut off all connexion with the Antonia, breaking and burning the colonnades that had connected them; severing, as it were, the infected limbs.[2]

Severed from the Temple. July 17, A.D. 70.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* VI. ii.

[2] Κορυφουμένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσέρποντος, καθάπερ σηπομένου σώματος, ἀπέκοπτον τὰ προειλημμένα μέλη (*i.e.* τὰς στοὰς), φθάνοντες τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω νομήν.—*Bell. Jud.* VI. ii.

Progress of the famine.

12. The sequel is but a tale of misery and horror. The fighting still continued in the outer courts of the Temple, while the people of all classes throughout the city were reduced to the most dreadful and disgusting expedients to lengthen out a miserable life. They fiercely contended for everything like food. They seized on what even brutes would refuse; and an event occurred, at this crisis, which has been justly deemed the climax of this terrific siege; an event which had been predicted fifteen hundred years before, as one that would befall them in the sequel of their history; when, having forsaken the God of their fathers, and the 'fear of his glorious and fearful Name,' He would bring against them from afar 'a nation of fierce countenance,'[1] which would besiege them

[1] *Deut.* xxviii. 49—59. Thus, according to Livy, the Samnites described the early Romans: 'Oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos, aiebant, vesanosque vultus et furentia ora; inde plus, quam ex alia ulla re, terroris ortum. Quem terrorem non pugnæ solum eventu, sed nocturna profectione, confessi sunt.' *Hist.* VII. xxxiii. Plutarch says of Coriolanus: Ἦν, ὥσπερ ἠξίου τὸν στρατιώτην ὁ Κάτων, οὐ χειρὶ καὶ πληγῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόνῳ φωνῆς καὶ ὄψει προσώπου φοβερὸς ἐντυχεῖν πολεμίῳ, καὶ δυσυπόστατος. — *Vitæ Parallelæ.* vol. ii. §. 2. p. 61. Ed. Bryan.

in all their gates. I refer to the story of the Jewish mother who, having been stript of all her property and food, was discovered by the soldiers to have killed her own infant, and to have even devoured part of it. The monstrous deed was told throughout the city, and told also in the Roman camp. Some pitied her; some would not believe it; in some it only added to their hatred of the Jews: Titus declaring, as he had done before, that he forsooth was innocent in this matter.[1] Progress of the famine.

Well might our Lord, on his way to Calvary, say to the weeping women of Jerusalem, 'Weep not for me, but for yourselves, and for your children.' Well may we suppose Him, with his knowledge of all prophecy, and his prescience of this unparalleled siege, to have had this deed of horror in view, when He spoke of the woe that Our Lord's prescience and sympathy.

Shakspeare has introduced this remark into one of the eulogies on Coriolanus:—'Thou wast a soldier Even to Cato's wish; not fierce and terrible Only in strokes; but, with thy grim looks and The thunder-like percussion of thy sounds, Thou mad'st thine enemies shake.'—Act I. 533. The early 4to reads *Calvus*, not *Cato;* probably, to avoid the anachronism. This has been questioned; but there is another like instance, *Henry VI. Third Part*, Act III. 294.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* VI. iii.

was hanging over the mother and the suckling in those days.[1]

Shall the Temple be spared?

13. Titus was now more than ever anxious to bring this hateful war to an end. To stand thus baulked, with his baffled legions, before this 'hemmed and famishing Jerusalem' was no glory to himself, or to the Roman arms,[2] and after six days' fruitless efforts to force his way through the Western wing of the Temple, he ordered the gates to be set on fire. The next day he had it extinguished, and held a council of war to determine whether the Temple should be saved or not. Many in the council were against saving it, as they thought it would be always a rallying place for the Jews, who would never cease to be disaffected.[3] Still Titus persisted in his wish to save the Temple, as a trophy which the Romans might well be

[1] *Luke* xxiii. 28, 29.

[2] So Tacitus describes the feelings of Titus and his army at this juncture: 'Romani ad oppugnandum versi, neque enim dignum videbatur, famem hostium opperiri. Poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia et cupidine præmiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante oculos; ac, ni statim Hierosolyma concidere rent, morari videbantur.'—*Hist.* v. xi.

[3] *Bell. Jud.* vi. iv.

proud of, and which seems to have moved even his 'Stoic pride.'

Nor can we be surprised at his reluctance. Nothing, says Josephus, was wanting in the structure of the Temple likely to captivate the mind and eye: and, though we cannot but regret that he has not given us some information as to the style of its architecture,[1] he has told us much of

Titus' wish to save it: and why.

[1] There are two passages in Josephus which are supposed to refer to this subject. (1) He says that the outer gate, which led to the sanctuary, was of Corinthian brass, and much surpassed in worth the gold and silver-gilt ones. *Μία δὲ ἡ ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεὼ Κορινθίου χαλκοῦ, πολὺ τῇ τιμῇ τὰς καταργύρους καὶ περιχρύσους ὑπεράγουσα.* — *Bell. Jud.* v. v. 3. This, however, refers only to the material of which this gate was made; that costly compound of silver, gold, and brass, called Aes Corinthiacum; or of gold and brass, called Aurichalcum. See Hoffman, *Lex.* s. vv. (2) In his *Antiquities*, Josephus says that the heads of the columns in the south colonnade of the Temple were finished off with sculptures, after the Corinthian manner. *Κιονοκράνων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Κορίνθιον τρόπον ἐπεξειργασμένων γλυφαῖς.*—*Antiq.* xv. xi. He says nothing of the three other sides of the Temple; and it is doubtful whether *κατὰ τὸν Κορίνθιον τρόπον* amounts to what we should call 'of the Corinthian *order*.' In another place he applies the word *Κορινθίως* to the roofing of Solomon's palace.—*Antiq.* viii. v.

Titus' wish to save the Temple.

this magnificent edifice, which we should seek in vain in any other writer. He speaks of its imposing position on the platform of the lofty Eastern hill, hanging over the valley of the Kedron; of its double colonnade of thirty cubits' breadth, and, including the Antonia, six furlongs long; its gates and doors of vast dimensions, overlaid with gold and silver; its pavements of various kinds of marble; its cedar roofs and ceilings of exquisite workmanship; its sacred inclosures, court within court, each ascending higher than the outer one, each increasing in local sanctity, according to the theory of the Temple ritual, till they reached the Holy Place, with its symbolical services,[1] and the Holy of the Holy within its veils; never intruded

[1] *Bell. Jud.* v. v. 5. Ἐνέφαινον, κ.τ.λ. But when Josephus tells us that the Candlestick symbolized the seven planets, and the Shewbread loaves the circle of the zodiac, we cannot but recognise a vicious system of Typology; which, however it may have been advocated by Philo, and by greater names than his, has been very justly condemned by Bahr; as placing the symbols of the Mosaic religion substantially on a footing with those of Heathenism, and employing both alike in the service of a mere Nature-worship. See Fairbairn's *Typology of Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 242.

on by footstep, touch, or sight.[1] As to its exterior, as seen from Mount Olivet, it must, from the peculiar construction of its courts, have been visible far above its walls and cloisters; and its upper front was covered with plates of gold, which shone with fiery radiance in the morning sun. Milton notices this view of the Temple, and had evidently in his mind the striking image with which Josephus closes his description.[2]

Titus' wish to save the Temple.

The holy City lifted high her towers,
And higher yet the glorious Temple rear'd
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaster, topp'd with golden spires.[3]

[1] Ἔκειτο δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄβατον δὲ καὶ ἄχραντον καὶ ἀθέατον ἦν πᾶσιν, ἁγίου δὲ ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο. — *Bell. Jud.* v. v. 5. Of course this statement must be understood in a general sense, and subject to the well-known exceptions referred to in *Hebrews* ix. 7, 25.

[2] Πλαξὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ στιβαραῖς κεκαλυμμένος πάντοθεν, ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας ἀνατολὰς πυρωδεστάτην ἀπέπαλλεν αὐγήν, καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων ἰδεῖν τὰς ὄψεις ὥσπερ ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἀπέστρεψε. Τοῖς γε μὴν εἰσαφικνουμένοις ξένοις πόρρωθεν ὅμοιος ὄρει χιόνος πλήρει κατεφαίνετο: καὶ γὰρ καθὰ μὴ κεχρύσωτο λευκότατος ἦν. Κατὰ κορυφὴν δὲ χρυσέους ὀβελοὺς ἀνεῖχε τεθηγμένους, ὡς μή τινι προσκαθεζομένῳ μολύνοιτο τῶν ὀρνέων.—*Bell. Jud.* v. v. 6.

[3] *Paradise Regained*, IV. 545—548.

Left desolate.

But all in vain was the desire to save it. The priests had heard, a few weeks before, on entering the Temple on the night of the Pentecost, the voice, as of a multitude,—'We are departing hence.'[1] Nay, our Lord, as we have seen, had declared to the people, when about to take his final leave of the Temple,—That their House would be left unto them desolate. And desolate it was thenceforward, in the truest and most pathetic sense of his words. For, though the Jews retained it for many years, and continued also to enrich and adorn it, up to the very eve of its destruction, its doom was sealed, its desolation had begun with the departure of that

[1] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἣ Πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται, νύκτωρ οἱ ἱερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἔνδον ἱερὸν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἔφασαν καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆς ἀθρόας, Μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν.—*Bell. Jud.* VI. v. 3. I have adopted Cardwell's reading, which was probably that of Tacitus: 'Expassæ repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox, *Excedere Deos*: simul ingens motus excedentium.'—*Hist.* v. xiii. Different opinions will, of course, be formed of such an incident as this: when, however, I consider what this Temple was—its antecedents historical, prophetical, typical—I can hardly, with Lardner, regard this story, as nothing more than an imitation of a heathen legend.

Divine Presence, which had shed upon it a greater glory than the glory of the former Temple of Solomon, even in its brightest day. And now too was the anniversary of that day of mourning, so darkly marked for ages in the Hebrew calendar, on which that former Temple had been burnt.[1] Left desolate.

14. Titus had withdrawn into the Antonia, determined the next morning, at break of day, to assault the Temple with his whole force. The Jews, after a short breathing-time, once more attacked the besiegers; but the Romans turned them, and drove them in; and, after a conflict with the Temple-guards, penetrated even into the sanctuary: when a soldier snatched a brand from the blazing timber, and, lifted up by one of his companions, threw it into one of the surrounding apartments; which immediately took fire. The Jews, on seeing the flames ascending, rushed to the rescue with a piteous outcry. Titus, as soon as he knew what had happened, ran to the spot to arrest the fire, with his officers and soldiers, all amazed; and called upon the men to extinguish the flames. But neither threats nor persuasion could avail. They The last struggle. Aug. 5, A.D. 70.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* VI. v. VI. iv.

The Temple burnt. Aug. 5, A.D. 70.

pretended not to hear his orders, and called upon each other to extend the conflagration. Many, in their impetuous rush into the Temple, were crushed to death by their own comrades; many perished with their opponents in the ruins. The Jews, within the Temple, were most of them unarmed, and were instantly butchered wherever they were caught. The steps of the altar flowed with blood, and the dead were crowded round it in heaps. The fire, in the mean time, was spreading everywhere; but as it had not reached the Holy Place as yet, Titus, with the help of the captain of his body-guard, made a last and vigorous effort to save it. But nothing could stop the furious onset of the soldiers, sharpened, as it was, by their hatred of the Jews, and by the hopes of plunder, which they expected would be gratified by the far-famed treasures of the inner Temple; which all they saw around them tended to confirm. At length, when after the slaughter of all whom the soldiers encountered on the Temple platform, without respect of person, age, or office, all the Jews that could escape having fled into the city, and while the sanctuary and all around them was in flames, the Romans brought

their eagles within the walls; and having set them up at the Eastern gate, they there offered up to them their sacrifices, and there saluted Titus as Imperator, with acclamations of great joy.[1] Thus the 'abomination of desolation,' the symbol of the highest power in Heathendom, was set up in God's most Holy Place; in what was deemed the Holiest in Israel.

The Temple burnt. Aug. 5, A.D. 70.

We need not pursue this saddest of all histories through the burning of the city and the slaughter of its inhabitants, whilst the shouts and shrieks of the slayers and of the slain were echoed from the mountains round Jerusalem, till their last refuge, the Upper town, was taken, and the Romans became masters of the whole city.[2]

The city taken. Aug. 15.

15. So astonished was Titus, on entering within its walls, at the height, and breadth, and solidity of its defences, that it drew from him a striking testimony to our Lord's prediction of the days of vengeance, which He had declared would overtake that guilty generation. 'God,' said Titus, 'must certainly have fought upon our side: it was God that cast down the Jews from these bulwarks; for,

Titus' testimony.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* VI. iv.—v. [2] *Ibid.* VI. v.—viii.

as for human hands and engines, what could they avail against these towers?'[1]

The city laid waste.

And now, when according to the words of the historian, there were none to be seen to plunder or to slay, Titus ordered the city and the Temple to be razed to their foundations; leaving only the three Royal Towers, and the Wall with its barracks, which enclosed the town on the West: the latter, for the reception of the garrison that was to be left there; the Towers, to indicate to future times, what a strong and splendid city Roman valour had subdued. 'All the rest of the wall, that encompassed the city, they so reduced,' says Josephus, 'and levelled with the ground, that there was nothing to lead those that visited the spot to believe that it had ever been inhabited.'[2]

As our Lord had foretold.

So precise was the fulfilment of those words, 'The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass

[1] Σὺν Θεῷ γ' ἐπολεμήσαμεν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ τῶνδε τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ἰουδαίους καθελών, ἐπεὶ χεῖρές τε ἀνθρώπων ἢ μηχαναὶ τί πρὸς τούτους τοὺς πύργους δύνανται;—*Bell. Jud.* VI. ix. 1.

[2] Τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδὲ πώποτ' οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι.—*Bell. Jud.* VII. i. 1.

thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.'[1]

The city burnt, as had been predicted.

Thus too was fulfilled another word of judgment in one of our Lord's last parables, which obviously belongs to this period, that of the Marriage of the King's Son: who, having provided his royal banquet, sent forth his servants to invite the guests. The thoughtless multitude made light of it; their proud and angry rulers killed the messengers; whereupon the King sent forth his armies and destroyed those murderers, and burnt up their city. Our Lord says *their* city: for as the Temple had ceased to be God's House, and was now reduced to utter desolation, so Jerusalem had lost its honoured name and guardian, and was no longer 'the City of the Great King.'[2]

Prophecy of the great Tribulation.

Nor is it only in this work of desolation, that we see this fulfilment of our Lord's words, notwithstanding the counter-efforts of Titus and of the Jews; we see it also in 'the great Tribulation,' which our

[1] *Luke* xix. 43, 44. [2] *Matt.* v. 35; xxii. 1—7.

Lord declared would fall upon that generation; such as had not been since the beginning of the world, nor ever will again be in the tide of time.[1]

Confirmed by Josephus.

Of this we have had sad proof enough in the general outlines which have been given of the siege. Josephus says, in nearly our Lord's own words,—That the troubles of all people, from the beginning of the world, appeared to him to sink in comparison with those of the Jews in this war.[2] And in another place he remarks,—That, as no other city ever suffered such miseries as Jerusalem, so no generation had ever existed more fruitful in wickedness than that.[3] Yet he himself failed, with his unhappy countrymen, to recognise the head and front of their offence, in that they desired a murderer to be granted unto them, and killed the Prince of Life.[4]

The captives and the slain.

16. The people that survived the fall of the city were variously disposed of at the will of their con-

[1] *Matt.* xxiv. 21, 22.

[2] Τὰ γοῦν πάντων ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀτυχήματα πρὸς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἡττᾶσθαί μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ σύγκρισιν.—*Bell. Jud. Proœm.* § 4.

[3] Συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, μήτε γενεὰν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέραν.—*Bell. Jud.* v. x. 5.

[4] *Acts* iii. 14, 15.

queror. Those that resisted were put at once to the sword; the factious brigands were also executed; the tall and handsome youths were reserved for the triumph; others were condemned to servile works in Egypt; many were sold, and many were distributed for gladiatorial victims throughout the provinces.[1] The captives and the slain.

According to the generally received estimate, Eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege; Ninety-seven thousand were made prisoners, exclusive of nearly Four hundred thousand, who perished in the war, in various places, from the time when our Lord delivered his prophecy, till the fifth year after the capture of the city.[2]

17. And yet, as a Roman historian remarks, though the conquest of the Jews was thus important and complete, and though the conquerors had each the rank of Imperator, neither of them took the title of *Judaicus*,[3] as, from the greatness of their The conquest great, but no Agnomen.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* VI. ix.

[2] Ussher, *Annales Vet. Test.* Works, vol. xi. pp. 112, 113.

[3] Καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (says Dion Cassius, *i.e.* in consequence of these successes, the capture of the city and the imposition of tribute), τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφότεροι ἔλαβον, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ οὐδ' ἕτερος εἶχε

'The conquest great, but no Agnomen.

victories, and from the practice of eminent men who had preceded them, they might have been expected to do. Was it that Vespasian would not assume a title which he may have felt belonged especially to his son? Or was it that Titus declined a distinction that might seem to dim the splendour of his father's fame? Dion Cassius, who has called attention to the circumstance, has given us no solution of it. Was it, as his learned editor suggests,[1] on the ground of a sarcastic word of Cicero's, touching Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, that the Romans did not care to take a title from a people

καίτοι τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐπὶ τηλικαύτῃ νίκῃ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀψῖδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφίσθησαν.'—*Hist. Rom.* vol. ii. LXVI. 7.

[1] Reimar refers to an expression in Cicero's *Epist. ad Atticum*, II. ix. 'Ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymarius, traductor ad plebem, quam bonam meis putissimis orationibus gratiam retulerit: quarum exspecta divinam παλινῳδίαν.' Cicero had lauded Pompey in the senate for not plundering the sacred treasury when the Jews abandoned the Temple to his soldiers, not choosing to fight on the Sabbath day. But when Cicero wrote this letter to Atticus, he was smarting under Pompey's treacherous conduct, in advancing the schemes of his enemy Clodius; and he threatens 'this Jerusalemite of ours,' as he calls him, with a recantation of those commendations which had met with so ungrateful a return.

whom they held in such contempt as the Jews? True it is, the Romans did despise them for what they deemed their unsocial system; and Pompey's capture of the city may have been an easy feat. But Vespasian and Titus had no easy work in their subjugation of Judæa and its metropolis. Their five years' war, and their five months' siege, together with their arduous conquest of Galilee, must have taught them to hold the Jewish nation in any other light than that of contempt: and the great preparations which they made for their triumph indicated anything but such a feeling. Was it then that Titus shrank from the title, from feeling, as we have seen, on entering the city, that God had broken down its walls and bulwarks, and had delivered it as a prey into his hands? We can hardly be justified in this inference, when viewed in connexion with his subsequent career. Yet so it was, that neither of the generals took any title from the scene of his victories, nor called himself the conqueror of Jerusalem. Jerusalem fell indeed by the Hand that had exalted her, and had made her once 'the joy of the whole earth.' She fell, a terrible and memorable example of perverted pri-

The conquest great, but no Agnomen.

The conquest great, but no Agnomen.

vileges and of a broken covenant. She fell before the armies of Rome; but our Lord, in the parable just cited, calls them emphatically his Father's armies, sent forth to vindicate his injured Son. Her rulers rejected their King, their Christ; lest, as they avowed, the Romans should come and take away their place and nation;[1] and this very rejection brought upon them those Romans, who took away their nation and their place.

Prisoners and spoils sent to Rome.

18. Shortly after the fall of the city Titus went to Cæsarea and Berytus, where he celebrated his father's and his brother's birthdays with great magnificence and with barbarous shows; in which several thousand Jewish captives were put to death in wanton sport; 'butchered to make a Roman holiday.' Thence, after visiting Antioch and Zeugma, Titus proceeded to Alexandria, having taken, on his way, a pitying glance at the striking contrast, then presented, to all its former greatness and splendour, in the wretched and solitary ruins of Jerusalem.[2] There he left the tenth legion in

[1] *John* xi. 48.

[2] Καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις προσελίθων, καὶ τὴν λυπρὰν ἐρημίαν βλεπομένην ἀντιθεὶς τῇ ποτὲ τῆς πόλεως λαμπρότητι, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν

charge of the relics of the people and of the city: the twelfth legion[1] he banished to Armenia, in remembrance of their ignominious retreat and the loss of their eagle at Bethhoron. From Egypt he sent Simon Bargioras, and John of Gischala, with seven hundred Jews, selected for their stature and personal appearance, together with an enormous amount of spoils, to grace his approaching triumph at Rome.[2]

Prisoners and spoils sent to Rome.

Some of these spoils, Josephus tells us, were brought to Titus by one of the priests, under a solemn promise of protection, before the Upper city had fallen; others were surrendered by the Treasurer of the Temple; and he mentions in particular, golden candlesticks and tables, bowls and cups, and other articles which had been used in the sacred service.[3] In a subsequent account of what he saw in the triumph, though he does not profess to describe all the spoils, he says that those that were taken from the Temple made the

ἐρρηγμένων κατασκευασμάτων, καὶ τὸ πάλαι κάλλος εἰς μνήμην βαλλόμενος, ᾤκτειρε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ὄλεθρον.—*Bell. Jud.* VII. v.

[1] Ibid. VII. i. 3. Afterwards the noted Legio Fulminatrix.

[2] *Ibid.* VII. v. 2, 3.

[3] *Ibid.* VI. viii. 3.

Prisoners and spoils sent to Rome.

greatest figure on that occasion;[1] those in fact which appeared most worthy of being recorded amongst the sculptures on the Arch; which are indeed truthful records of the triumph, though there is some artistic fiction mixed up with them.

The Triumph, A.D. 71.

19. The Arch then may be regarded as an exponent of the Triumph; which took place on the return of Titus to Italy, probably in the year following the fall of Jerusalem; but when exactly we cannot say, as the *Triumphal Annals* terminate many years earlier.[2]

In consequence of the different victories of the two conquerors the Senate decreed a separate triumph to each. They however determined that their conquests should be celebrated by only one common triumph.[3] The Senate voted also 'two

[1] Λάφυρα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χύδην ἐφέρετο· διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ καταληφθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ.—*Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 5.

[2] Τῶν δ' Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων, ὁ Τῖτος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπανελθών, τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐφ' ἅρματος ἔπεμψαν· συνέπεμπε δὲ σφίσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλητος. Zonaras, *Annales*, XI. xviii. According to the *Fasti* Domitian was consul, A.D. 71; and the triumph probably took place in the spring or summer of that year. He was not consul again till A.D. 73.

[3] *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 3.

trophied arches;' so at least we are told by Dion Cassius:[1] but there does not seem to have been more than one erected, and that not till after the death of Vespasian. But their Triumph appears to have been conducted on a scale of more than ordinary magnificence. Orosius says it was the three hundred and twentieth of those pageants, for which the Romans were so much celebrated; and that it was distinguished by the splendour of its spectacle far beyond all that had preceded it.[2] Josephus, who was present, is exuberant in its praise; and seems to have been so lost in admiration of its novelties, as to have forgotten, not only his country's degradation, but the wrongs and sorrows also of his captive countrymen; who so largely contributed to swell its pomp and pride.

The Triumph. A.D. 71.

All the troops, which were then in Rome, assembled in the morning of the day appointed, near the temple of Isis, in the Campus Martius, where they were met by Vespasian and Titus, crowned with laurel and in ancestral purple.[3] Thence they

[1] D. Cassius, *Hist.* LXVI. 7. τρίους ἀμπεχόμενοι. — *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 4.

[2] Orosius, *Hist.* VII. ix.

[3] Πορφυρᾶς δὲ ἐσθῆτας πατρίους ἀμπεχόμενοι. — *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 4. Not paternal or ancestral, as belonging to

The Triumph. A.D. 71.

proceeded to the Octavian Walks, or Porticus, where the Senate, magistrates, and many of the knights were waiting to receive them.[1] There, in front of the colonnades, and seated in their ivory chairs of state, they received and returned the congratulations of the people; and distributed to the soldiers, who had been with them in the war, the customary crowns and branches of laurel, together with those headless spears or staves,[2] which were special marks of military distinction, and which appear, as we shall see, in the hands of the soldiers, who are carrying the spoils of the Temple. Having offered their usual form of prayer, — That the gods, by whom Rome had been founded and advanced, would still continue their favour and pro-

Vespasian's family; for ancestry he had none, and would have been the last to claim it; but, according to the old established rites, which, on these occasions, required the Imperator to be in purple, and all the rest in white.

[1] *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 4.

[2] Δόρατα ἀσίδηρα, as Zonaras calls them, in his account of the triumph of Camillus, *Annales* VII. xxi. The Romans called them Hastæ puræ, and they seem to have been usual appendages of a triumph. 'Sed tua sic, domitis Parthæ telluris alumnis, Pura triumphantes hasta sequatur equos.'—Propertius, IV. iii. 67.

tection,—they went with their attendants to the Triumphal Gate, through which they had to pass into the city. There, having put on their appropriate robes,[1] and having offered frankincense to the gods whose statues stood there, they mounted their chariots, and ordered the procession to move on; driving through the tiers of crowded seats which flanked their line of progress to the Capitol.[2]

[1] Josephus is quite correct in his reference to these *θριάμβικαι ἐσθῆται*, as distinct from and in addition to the purple dress above mentioned. They consisted of the Tunica Jovis; so called from being kept in the Capitoline temple; whence they were borrowed on these occasions. Bulenger, *De Triumphis*, XIII. in Gronov. *Thes.* vol. XI.

[2] *Ἔπεμπον τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων διεξελαύνοντες, ὅπως εἴη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θέα ῥάων.—Bell. Jud.* VII. V. Donati remarks on this passage: 'Quid autem est *transire inter spectacula*, nisi per loca spectaculorum et circos, quorum gradus insederat populus, ut spectaret facilius atque commodius? Vespasianus autem discedens ab Octavia porticu per Circum primo Flaminium, deinde Circum Maximum transiturus erat . . . Ambigi posset, an etiam per theatra primum Pompeii, tum Balbi, deinde Marcelli, et amphitheatrum Statilii in Campo, et Flavium prope Sacram viam, postquam extructa sunt, pompa Triumphalis transiret. Sed fortasse horum aditus non ceperunt machinas, pegmata, carros, et immania illa fercula, quibus manubiæ, ima-

The Triumph. A.D. 71.

The route of the procession is not given in Josephus, nor can we indeed determine with certainty the site of the Gate[1] from which it started; but he has mentioned the chief component parts of the pomp; and we can readily supply such as are wanting.

The Senate and other chief persons took the lead. They were followed by the greater portion of the spoils, with persons carrying title-boards or placards; from which the spectators might ascertain the history of all the objects that passed before them.[2] Josephus does not enter much into these

gines, atque hostium spolia vehebantur. Dixerim præterea, theatra, propter adjunctum scenæ pulpitum, et clausum fabricæ semicirculum, pompæ transitum non præbuisse. De amphitheatris dubitaverim.'—*De Urbe Roma*, I. xxii. Grævius, Tom. III. May not Josephus have meant by τῶν θεάτρων nothing more than 'seeing places;' that is the seats erected along the line which the procession had to traverse through the city? Ὅπως εἴη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡθέα ῥάων,—'that the multitudes might have a better sight of it.'

[1] Donati places this Gate in the city wall, on the South of the Campus Martius; but he candidly says, 'Equidem potius ubi non fuerit, quam ubi ponenda sit, possum ostendere.'—*De Urbe Roma*, I. xxii.

[2] Ovid, from remembrance of similar pageants (for he was at Pontus when he wrote

details: he says it was impossible to recount them all; but that such was the number and such the magnificence of the spoils, of things most rich and rare in nature and in art,[1] that it seemed as if the products of different nations had been brought there together, on that day, and had passed before him like a flowing river.[2] There was silver, gold, and ivory in all manner of forms; gems, in crowns and in other fashions; tapestries of the rarest Babylonian embroidery. There were also in the pomp, in appropriate trappings, foreign animals of various kinds; and other productions of the conquered country which would be likely to interest the citizens of Rome.[3] But the objects, which, according to

the verses), speaks of these Tituli or placards, in a triumph of Tiberius. 'Ergo omnis poterit populus spectare triumphos, Cumque ducum titulis oppida capta leget: Vinclaque captiva reges cervice gerentes, Ante coronatos ire videbit equos.' —*Trist.* IV. ii. 19—22.

[1] Ἀμήχανον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν τῶν θεαμάτων ἐκείνων τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐν ἅπασιν, οἷς ἄν τις ἐπινοήσειεν, ἢ τεχνῶν ἔργοις, ἢ πλούτου μέρεσιν, ἢ φύσεως σπανιότησι.—*Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 5.

[2] *Ibid.* VII. v.

[3] According to a curious list, which Hoffman has given of these triumphal novelties (s. v. Triumphus), it appears that the Balsam-tree of Jericho was the most remarkable exotic in Vespasian's

The Triumph. A.D. 71.

Josephus, excited the greatest admiration in the whole procession, were the large and lofty platforms, on which were exhibited various sections of the late campaign; consisting of models of cities, temples, fortresses, assaulted, captured, in ruins or in flames; with dramatic representations of the hostile armies in all the varying forms and circumstance of war.[1] Then there followed many captured ships, that had probably been taken at Tarichæa, and after the conflicts and the storm at Joppa; which are mentioned amongst the earlier

triumph. Pliny mentions it: 'Omnibus odoribus præfertur Balsamum, uni terrarum Judææ concessum. Ostendêre arbusculam hanc imperatores Vespasiani.'—*Hist. Nat.* XII. liv.

[1] These Πήγματα, or Platforms, were of various kinds, and uses; for the theatre, for the circus, and for the triumph. Ovid, in the poem just cited, speaks of them as common parts of the pageant. 'Hic lacus, hi montes, hæc tot castella, tot amnes, Plena feræ cædis, plena cruoris erant.'—*Trist.* IV. ii. 37, and again, *Ex Ponto*, IV. ii. 39. It seems from the language of Josephus, that these platforms consisted not of mere pictures, but of models of battle-fields in Jerusalem and in other places; but, whether these representations were effected by such automatic machinery as Seneca describes in his account of the Pegmata, is doubtful; Lipsius thinks they were not. *De Amphitheatro*, XXII. Grævius, Tom. IX.

events of the history. After these things came the priests with the bulls for sacrifice,[1] adorned with fillets, garlands, and dorsal cloths; with corn and wine, and meal, and frankincense. Then came the seven hundred Hebrew youths, with Simon Bargioras and John of Gischala; all splendidly attired, and all in chains: and after them, as in the most distinguished place, the spoils that had been taken from the Temple of Jerusalem; the golden Table, the golden Candlestick, and last of all the Book of the Law.[2] After these things there followed a numerous company with gold and ivory images of Victory. Then came the Emperor Vespasian in his chariot, followed by Titus in another chariot,[3] and by his younger son, Domitian, who was consul, on horseback. After them, as on all such occasions, came the soldiers, that

The Triumph. A.D. 71.

[1] 'Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxuma taurus, Victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro, Romanos ad templa Deûm duxere triumphos.'—*Georg.* II. 146. Virgil says *Duxere;* for the victims preceded the imperator's car; and they appear upon the Frieze, though not mentioned by Josephus.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 5.

[3] *Ibid.* VII. v. Orosius, *Hist.* VII. ix. says that the father and the son were in the same chariot; but Josephus was an eye-witness of the Triumph.

The Triumph. A.D. 71.

had been engaged in the war, crowned with laurel, and shouting songs of victory, together with such effusions of praise, abuse and raillery, as they chose to bestow upon their military leaders.[1] Thus they went along the Via Sacra; the conquerors to the Capitol, there to present their votive crowns upon the knees of Jupiter; the captives to the Forum, and thence to prison, where, on most occasions, the captured kings and leaders were put to death. Nor do we find that the termination of this Triumph was any exception to this atrocious practice, though it occurred in what was deemed a civilized age, and under the most humane of emperors.

Its barbarous termination.

When arrived at the Temple the procession halted; for it had been the custom, says Josephus, there to wait till some one announced the death of the general of the enemy. This was Simon, son of

[1] In Appian's account of Scipio's triumph, he thus describes its closing section. Καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἡ στρατιὰ κατά τε ἴλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πᾶσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα· οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐπίκειται· καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὓς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ σκώπτουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν. ἀφελὴς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος· καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν.—*Roman. Hist.* VIII. lxvi. Livy often mentions these 'Inconditi versus,' or rude ballads, as they seem to have been.—*Hist.* IV. liii.—V. xlix.—XXXIX. vii.—XLV. xxxviii.

Gioras. Bound by a halter, and scourged by those that led him, he was dragged to the place of execution;[1] and as soon as it was announced that 'there was an end of him,' the multitude acknowledged it with a joyful shout. They then proceeded to sacrifice the victims; and having offered their usual form of thanks to the gods, they departed to the banquets that had been prepared for them.[2] Its barbarous termination

Such was the revolting termination of the Triumph. Yet such was Rome in her highest glory; such too in her hour of greatest joy; so much she still retained of her foster-mother's nature, and carried it with her to the brink of her grave.

For Simon there was probably but little sympathy by those that knew him, as well as those that did not: for, though a man of remarkable courage and ability, he seems to have been generally feared and hated. But, on most of these

[1] Εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσύρετο τόπον, κ.τ.λ. *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 6. This agrees with the site of the Mamertine prison: 'Carcer mediâ urbe imminens Foro.'—Livii *Hist.* I. xxiii: and with Cicero's account of the place and the practice. 'Cum de Foro in Capitolium flectere incipiunt, illos (i. e. duces hostium) duci in carcerem: idemque dies et victoribus imperii, et victis vitæ finem facit.'—*In Verrem*, v. 30.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* VII. v.

Its barbarous termination.

triumphal occasions, we cannot but suppose that many must have felt with one of our poets, who, on visiting this entrance to the Capitol, exclaims:

> And what are they,
> Who at the foot withdraw, a mournful train,
> In fetters? . . . . . They are the fallen;
> Those who were spared to grace the chariot wheels;
> And there they parted, where the road divides,
> The victor and the vanquished—there withdrew;
> He to the festal board, and they to die.
> Well might the great, the mighty of the world,
> They who were wont to fare deliciously,
> And war but for a kingdom, more or less,
> Shrink back, nor from their thrones endure to look,
> To think that way! Well might they in their state
> Humble themselves, and kneel and supplicate
> To be delivered from a dream like this.[1]

And there, upon the summit of the Sacred Way, that consecrated path,—over whose broad flints Such crowds have rolled, so many storms of war, So many pomps, so many wondering realms,[2]— this Arch of Titus was built.

[1] *Italy*, p. 142. [2] Dyer, *Ruins of Rome*, p. 32.

20. As to the precise date of its erection we have no information. But if not the first it was one of the earliest of those twenty-one arches, with which Rome was once adorned. And, if not the first, it is one of the earliest specimens of that elaborate order in which they were executed: though that order is said to have been found upon the arch of Drusus, and even upon a portico in Caria.[1] Not indeed that triumphal arches, of some kind or other, were of so late a date as this; for it was the practice of the Romans, in very early times, to erect arches to commemorate their victories; but at first they were of very rude construction, and of no better material than stone or brick; as the arch that was built in honour of Camillus, after the conquest of Veii.[2]

The Arch erected on the Via Sacra.

21. This Arch of Titus is said to have had originally two Inscriptions; one on each side of the Attic story with which it is surmounted even now. One of these Inscriptions is still legible, as it appears upon the reduced copy of the photogram which was executed in Rome a few years since.

Its inscriptions.

[1] Burton, *Antiquities of Rome*, vol. i. p. 230.

[2] Pitiscus, *Lex. Antiq. Rom.* s. v. Arcus.

Its Inscriptions.

The other Inscription had disappeared from its place, as long since as the time of Donati, that is, more than two hundred years ago. But it has been preserved by Gruter; who professes, however, his ignorance of its origin, and says that Scaliger considered it to be a forgery of Onuphrius.[1]

That now existing.

On the story fronting the Colosseum, that is, the side which is given in this print, we have the following simple inscription:

SENATVS
POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS
DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F.
VESPASIANO AVGVSTO.

From this Inscription it appears, not only that the Arch was erected to Titus by the Senate and the people, but that it was not erected till after he became emperor, as is indicated by the title *Augustus*. Nor was it erected till after his death. At all events, if begun before, it must have been finished after his decease; as he is here called *Divus*, the Deified. For though the Roman poets often speak of their emperors as gods upon earth, the

[1] Gruter, *Corpus Inscript.* Vol. I. p. ccxliv. b.

Divus, here solemnly assigned by the Senate, and placed upon the tablet, cannot be mistaken. That now existing.

And there is a curious confirmation of this in Tacitus. He states that Anicius, when consul elect, instead of voting thanks and offerings to the gods, for Nero's escape from assassination, proposed that a temple, at the public charge, should be built, as soon as possible, to the Divine Nero. 'A motion,' says Tacitus, 'by which he meant to intimate that Nero soared above the pinnacle of mortality, and deserved the worship given to the gods, but which was slily interpreted by some persons as ominous of Nero's approaching death: for divine worship is not paid to a prince, till he has ceased to sojourn upon earth.'[1] Divus; its import.

That the Arch is indeed a posthumous tribute is attested also by the circumstance, that on the ceiling Titus' consecration or apotheosis.

[1] 'Reperio in commentariis Senatus, Cerealem Anicium, Consulem designatum, pro sententia dixisse, Ut templum D. Neroni quam maturrime publica pecunia poneretur. Quod quidem ille decernebat, tamquam mortale fastigium egresso et venerationem hominum merito, quorumdam dolo ad omina sui exitus vertebatur. Nam Deûm honor Principi non ante habetur, quam agere inter homines desierit.'—*Annal.* xv. 74.

Titus' consecration or apotheosis.

of the vault there is the symbol of Titus' apotheosis, or his enrolment among the gods.

Titus is represented as sitting astride upon an eagle; and there are also, at the corners of the tablet, eagles grasping in their claws the thunderbolt; the acknowledged symbol of consecration. For it was the Roman custom, at the obsequies of an emperor, to have an eagle concealed at the top of the pile, and, as soon as the funeral fire was kindled, to let the eagle fly; who, as he mounted up into the sky, was thought by the people to carry the emperor's spirit along with him; and thenceforth, as Herodian remarks, he was worshipped in common with the other gods.[1]

[1] So Herodian concludes his account of the obsequies of Septimius Severus. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ βραχυτάτου κατασκευάσματος, ὥσπερ ἀπό τινος ἐπάλξεως, ἀετὸς ἀφίεται, σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν θρησκεύεται. — *Hist.* IV. ii. 2. Dryden rather oddly refers to this practice at the commencement of his *Stanzas on the Death of Cromwell*:—'And now 'tis time; for their officious haste, Who would before have borne him to the sky, Like eager Romans, ere all rites were past, Did let too soon the sacred eagle fly.'

CONSECRATIO SIVE APOTHEOSIS TITI.

REDUCED FROM BARTOLI'S ADMIRANDA.

KEYSTONE OF THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE ARCH.

REDUCED FROM DESGODETZ' EDIFICES ANTIQUES.

22. The other Inscription, before referred to, which is said to have been discovered in the Circus,[1] is much longer, and in a very different style. It professes that the Arch was erected to Titus; and after recounting his high offices and the number of his victories, it adds, that, acting under his father's counsels and auspices, he had subdued the Jews, and destroyed Jerusalem; which had either not been attempted by any previous generals, kings, or people, or had been attempted in vain. Another Inscription.

IMP. TITO CAESARI DIVI
VESPASIANI F. VESPASIANO
AVG. PONTIFICI MAXIMO
TRIB. POT. X.
IMP. XVII. COS. VIII. P.P.
PRINCIPI SVO S.P.Q.R
QVOD PRAECEPTIS PATRIS
CONSILIISQVE ET AVSPICIIS
GENTEM IVDAEORVM DOMVIT
ET VRBEM HIEROSOLYMAM
OMNIBVS ANTE SE DVCIBVS
REGIBVS GENTIBVSQVE
AVT FRVSTRA PETITAM
AVT OMNINO INTENTATAM
DELEVIT.

[1] Marlianus, *Urbis Romæ Topog.* III. viii. Grævius, Tom. III.

Doubts about it.

Whether this Inscription was ever attached to either side of the Arch is uncertain: nor is it a matter of much importance. It gives no information as to Titus, as acting under his father's counsels, which we have not learnt more fully from Josephus: and what it adds, with regard to his assault upon Jerusalem, is matter of such ambitious blundering, that it is surprising how any one could have ventured on a statement, at variance not only with Jewish history, but even with recent Roman affairs. That the Romans may have been ignorant of the assaults, that had been made upon Judæa and Jerusalem by neighbouring nations, may well be supposed, when we see the strange stories which Tacitus has retailed of the origin of the Jews and of their early history.[1] But how could they be ignorant of Pompey's conquest, who had not only taken Jerusalem, but had also made her tributary to Rome, not a century and a half before the time of Titus?[2] Such fictions, says Orelli, they are apt to form, who aim at something grand or extraordinary.[3]

[1] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2—5.

[2] Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iv. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. ix.

[3] *Inscript. Latin.* vol. I. p. 184: and yet this Inscription is given in a *Fasciculus*

Nor is this the only instance in which the name of Titus seems to have been thus unduly magnified. Pope alludes to a learned strife, which had been kindled in behalf of the two Vespasians, by some old inscription, that had suffered in common with the arches and temples of ancient Rome. Doubts about it.

Some felt the silent stroke of mouldering age,
Some hostile fury, some religious rage;
Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire,
And Papal piety, and Gothic fire.
Perhaps, by its own ruins saved from flame,
Some buried marble half preserves a name;
That name the learn'd with fierce disputes pursue,
And give to Titus old Vespasian's due.[1]

The names, however, in this instance, are sufficiently discriminated to prevent the risk of any such disastrous misunderstanding: nor shall we take anything from the old Vespasian by rejecting this inscription as spurious. That Titus acted under his father's auspices, and received from him the

Romanarum Inscriptionum, printed at Padua 1774, 'In usum juventutis,' and dedicated 'Tironibus Rei Lapidariæ studiosis.'

[1] *Verses occasioned by Mr. Addison's Treatise of Medals;* prefixed to the *Dialogues*.

conduct of the war, we have heard already from other sources: it is only from Titus we must pluck the laurel, here assigned him by some foolish lapidary, of having been the first that conquered the Jewish metropolis.

Style and special portions of the Arch.

23. We may now turn to other details of the Arch, its style, and its historical reminiscences.

It is built of large blocks of Parian marble; and, as a work of art, it has been much admired. Whether or not it be the first example of that combination, called the Roman, or the Composite, or, as some have called it, the Triumphal order, from its being used especially in these arches, it is admitted to be a graceful exhibition of it: and has been treated as a model in its kind; the most celebrated revivers of Roman architecture having taken the proportions of the order from this Arch.[1]

The print, to which we have already referred, shows the side towards the Colosseum, and correctly represents its present state. The other side, or Western, towards the Forum, retains but little

[1] Desgodetz, *Edifices Antiques*, vol. II. xvii. Lumisden, *Remarks on Antiquities of Rome*, p. 341.

of its original form, having suffered much from various causes; especially when the Arch was used as a fortress, in the civil war, in the twelfth century. And so largely had the soil accumulated round it, in the course of that and the two next centuries, that the two chief tablets were not visible, till Sixtus the Fourth made a way beneath the vault down to the level of the ancient pavement; which now forms the pathway through it.[1]

Style and special portions of the Arch.

The Columns gradually diminish from the pedestals, and are surmounted by the usual acanthus-capital, subdivided into parsley-leaves; and they were doubtless all originally alike, as they are given by Donati and Montfaucon; though the outer columns have been restored in a manner most unworthy of their old companions. The Volutes, and, in short, all parts of the capitals, as well as the details of the entablature, are in a style of profuse ornament, and are given with fine effect by Desgodetz. The Spandrells are filled by two figures of Fame; one holding in her hand a standard, the other apparently a laurel crown.

[1] Taylor and Cresy, *Architectural Antiquities*, p. 4. Burton, *Description of Rome*, vol. 1. p. 237.

Style and special portions of the Arch.

The Brackets underneath the cornice are formed of dolphins resting upon shells, and are supposed to symbolize the shore of Gennesareth.[1] On the Keystone, which is now much decayed, but which was once considered the finest in Rome, there are the relics of a helmeted female figure, probably designed for Rome herself. She is standing in front of some military weapons: her left hand rests upon a shield; with the right she seems to be in the act of welcoming her victorious sons on their way to the Capitol.[2]

Frieze and Tablets.

24. We may now notice those more important parts, to which the whole structure may be considered as subservient. Under the vault, and on each side of its chamber, are the two noted bas-reliefs: the one on the North side representing the Emperor, passing through the city in his chariot to the Capitol; the other, the spoils which were carried before him: and on the Frieze, that runs across the whole upper structure, or did, at least, when it was entire, we have a representation of another part of the pomp, consisting of such living objects

[1] Taylor and Cresy, *Architectural Antiquities*, vol. 1. plates IV.—VIII. pp 9—12.

[2] See p. 65.

as were deemed legitimate subjects for the Frieze, and from which, indeed, it took its earlier name.[1]

The Frieze.

Here we have, first, two Roman soldiers, one with a shield, the next with a title-board or placard; then a sacrificer in a lictor's apron, leading two bulls about to be offered, in their ornamented cloths and fillets; followed by an attendant with a pitcher of wine and a basket of perfumes for the sacrifices. Then we have another priest, leading another decorated bull; soldiers in tunics, crowned with laurel, and bearing the Roman oblong shield; a person in a toga and another with a placard. Then comes another sacrificer with a bull, and an attendant with an incense-basket, as before; followed by senators, and by another sacrificer and a bull. Then we have another incense-bearer, another votive bull, and two more senators.[2] And, lastly, we have several persons carrying on a stage the recumbent figure of a bearded old man, whose left arm rests upon

[1] 'Ζωοφόρος Vitruvio dicitur per illa in columnis inter epistylium et coronicem, quæ pulvinatis sæpe figuris visitur, ornamentisque diversis instructa. Vulgo *La Frize*.' Stephens' *Thesaurus*, s. v.

[2] So Bellori *in l.*

The Frieze.

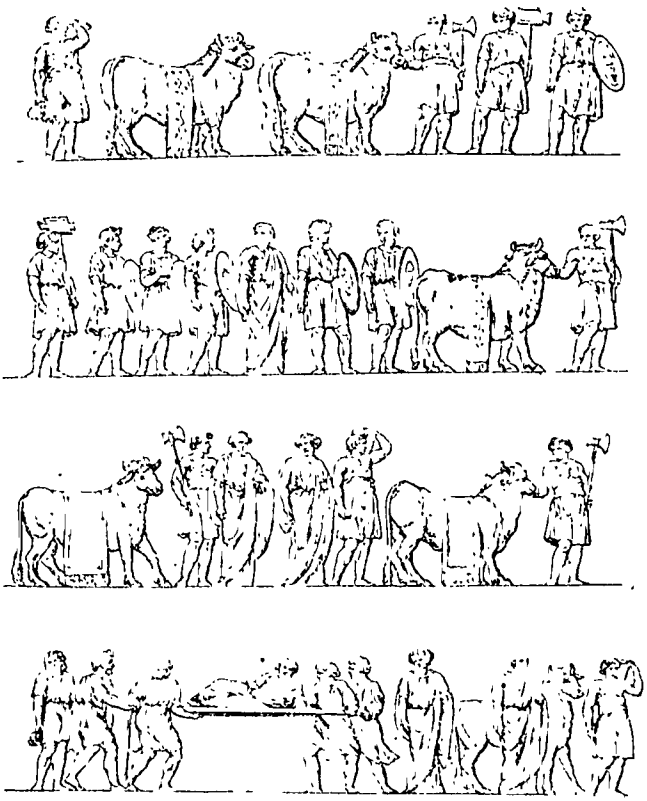
an urn. He is supposed to represent the river Jordan, or, according to Bellori, the lake of Gennesareth;[1] at whose south-west corner, where the Jordan resumes its course, Titus took, as we have heard, the town of Tarichæa, which made him master of nearly all Galilee. Thus Statius represents the river Inachus, as sculptured on the palace walls of Argos: 'Pater ipse bicornis In lævam pronâ nixus sedet Inachus urnâ.'[2] And it is to such figures as this that we are indebted for the symbols of our old Father Thames.

Some portions lost.

It should also be mentioned, before we quit the Frieze, that, at each extremity, where it was continued over the capitals of the outer columns,—as appears from the prints of Donati and Montfaucon,—there was a female figure, seated on the ground,

[1] 'Tarichæis, ad Lacum Gennesar,' says Bellori, 'navali prælio devictis, simulacrum Lacus ipsius in Triumpho ducitur.' Venuti rather refers the figure to the River Jordan. 'Vi si vede nel principio del fregio scolpita la figura d' un Vecchio portata da due Uomini, che rappresenta il Fiume Giordano, per mostrare, che da Tito venne soggiogata la Giudea, seguitandovi per il sagrificio il Bove, e altre piccole figure.'—*Antichita di Roma*, p. 14.

[2] *Thebaid.* II. 217.



IMPERATORIS TITI TRIUMPHALIS POMPA.

IN ARCUS TITI ZOPHORO VERSUS AMPHITHEATRUM.

REDUCED FROM BARTOLI'S ADMIRANDA.

similar to those on the Vespasian coins; and with which indeed we have been long familiar in the lines which form the sequel of those just cited from Pope's *Verses on Medals*. He is contending for the advantages of the medal and the coin,—and in this instance with obvious truth,—over the records of the sculptor and the architect. Some portions lost.

Ambition sigh'd: she found it vain to trust
The faithless column and the crumbling bust,
Huge moles, whose shadows stretch'd from shore to shore,
Their ruins perish'd, and their place no more.
Convinced, she now contracts her vast design,
And all her triumphs shrink into a Coin.
A narrow orb each crowded conquest keeps,
Beneath her palm here sad Judæa weeps.

And thus has she continued, for nearly eighteen centuries, to affirm the fact of her subjection to Rome, and to illustrate also the symbolism of her prophets; who, under this and other kindred images, foretold the very captivity recorded on these coins.[1]

[1] See Addison's notice of these coincidences, *Dialogues on Medals*, p. 134; and the engraving at the end of this volume.

First Tablet. Titus triumphant.

25. On the right hand side of the inner walls of the Arch, we have the Conqueror in his triumphal car, with many of the friends and attendants who formed his personal staff on the occasion.

The chariot, commonly used in triumphs, differed from the military and from the circus chariot.[1] It was like a short circular tower, as we see it on the Arch and on coins and medals. It was usually made of ivory and gold; a work of great artistic skill; and it was generally drawn by four white horses abreast. Pompey, on his return from Africa, appeared with elephants harnessed to his car;[2] but the white horses, which were introduced by Camillus, at no small sacrifice of popularity,[3] was the style affected by most of the imperators: and all the more, no doubt, from its having been deemed a sort of assumption of divine honours.

[1] Zonaras, *Annales*, VII. XXI. *Corpus Byzant.* Tom. X. p. i.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Natural.* VIII. § ii.

[3] 'Maxime conspectus ipse est, curru equis albis juncto urbem invectus: parumque id non civile modo, sed humanum etiam, visum. Jovis Solisque equis, æquiparari Dictatorem, in religionem etiam trahebant; triumphusque ob eam unam maximè rem clarior, quam gratior, fuit.'—Livy, *Hist.* v., xxiii.

IMPERATORIS TITI JUDAICUS TRIUMPHUS.

REDUCED FROM BARTOLI'S ADMIRANDA.

Titus, as was usual, is standing in his chariot, and has in his hand a military bâton: the reins are hung across the antux. A winged figure of Victory, from behind him, holds a large crown or chaplet over his head. Nor was this altogether an invention of the sculptor; for there seems to have been a person appointed for the purpose of carrying the crown on these occasions: and, in earlier times, a slave was deputed to stand behind the conqueror as he rode along in triumph, to remind him,—that he too was but a man, and should not be too much elated by his victory.[1] Juvenal alludes to this singular custom, and fancies how Democritus would

Titus triumphant.

[1] Tertullian appeals to this practice, in defining and defending the kind of reverence and obedience which were due from Christians to the reigning emperor. 'Non enim Deum imperatorem dicam, vel quia mentiri nescio, vel quia illum deridere non audeo, vel quia nec ipse se Deum volet dici. Si homo sit, interest homini Deo cedere; satis habet appellari imperator. Grande et hoc nomen est, quod a Deo traditur. Negat illum imperatorem, qui Deum dicit: nisi homo sit, non est imperator. Hominem se esse etiam triumphans in illo sublimissimo curru admonetur. Suggeritur enim ei a tergo, Respice post te, hominem memento te.' *Apologeticus adv. Gentes*, cap. xxxiii.; Semler, vol. v.

Titus triumphant.

have been amused to see the noble Roman in such circumstances.

In tunicâ Jovis et pictæ Sarrana ferentem
Ex humeris aulæa togæ, magnæque coronæ
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla.
Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, et, sibi consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.[1]

In Jove's gay tunic, and embroider'd vest
Of Tyrian tapestry, superbly drest;
While at his side the sweating menial bore
A monstrous crown, no mortal ever wore;
The menial destined in his car to ride,
And cool the swelling consul's feverish pride.

And there was something in this monitory office of the slave characteristic of severe old Rome, and of her just jealousy of these triumphal honours. Some indeed of her distinguished men declined

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 38—42. Some writers say that this officer was the Roman Carnifex; but his contact even with the crown would have been deemed a pollution. Pitiscus, *Lex. Antiq. Rom.* s. v. Carnifex. Nor is it probable that he actually uttered the admonitions, suggested by Tertullian. 'Nam vel silente servo,' as Pitiscus remarks, 'id ille (Imperator) intelligebat.' S. v. Triumphantes. His presence in the chariot was enough.

them; and many must have felt, as one acknowledges, that it was but a childish sort of gratification, and could give the conqueror no substantial pleasure.[1] Milton, from a higher point of view than Roman magnanimity seems to have reached, sympathises more with the conquered than the conqueror, and calls his triumph 'an insulting vanity.' Such are the terms in which he represents our Lord as rejecting the Tempter's offer of these dignities of 'great and glorious Rome.'[2] Titus triumphant.

Nor is the tablet wanting in any of its essential details; though Vespasian, who preceded Titus, is not there, nor Domitian, who followed him on

[1] 'Disseres de triumpho:' says Cicero: 'Quid tandem habet iste currus? quid vincti ante currum duces? quid simulacra oppidorum? quid aurum? quid argentum? quid legati in equis, et tribuni? quid clamor militum? quid tota illa pompa? Inania sunt ista, mihi crede, delectamenta pæne puerorum, captare plausus, vehi per urbem, conspici velle. Quibus ex rebus nihil est, quod solidum tenere, nihil, quod referre ad voluptatem corporis possit.' *Orat. in Pisonem*, § 25. Must not Cicero have felt that there was truth in this disparagement of triumphal honours, though he puts it into the mouth of one who decried only what he could not obtain?

[2] *Paradise Regained*, IV. 45, 138.

Titus triumphant.

horseback. He is supported, in the background, by twelve lictors; whose rods of office are without their axes:[1] and, in front and round about the chariot, by senators and others in their festival costume,—'an ample train of nobles all in white,'[2] —crowned with laurel and with branches in their hands: and some mythical personage, by the side of the chariot, seems to be marshalling the procession. The horses are decorated with the sacred crescents which were worn in the circus and on all great occasions; and Rome herself, distinguished by her spear and helmet, conducts them by a little leading rein.[3]

Second Tablet. The Temple Spoils.

26. The sculptures, on the other side of the Arch, represent the spoils which were taken from the Temple. They are borne aloft by Roman

[1] One might perhaps expect this omission on such an occasion as a triumph: but it may be otherwise accounted for. By a regulation, introduced by Valerius, in the first consulate, it was enacted, that the axes should never be carried through the city; a restriction which Dionysius Halicarnassus tells us (*Antiq. Rom.* v. xix.) continued up to his time.

[2] 'Præcèdentia longi Agminis officia, et niveos ad fræna Quirites.' Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 44.

[3] Bellori's *Comment.* in Bartoli, p. 8. Montfaucon, *L'Antiq. Expl.* Tom. v. VII. v.

IMPERATORIS TITI JUDAICUS TRIUMPHUS.

REDUCED FROM BARTOLI'S ADMIRANDA.

soldiers, not by Jewish captives, as some writers represent them; for they are crowned with laurel, and they have in their hands the short and pointless spears that had been given them when they started.[1] They are also accompanied by persons of higher rank, with laurel crowns and branches, as before, and one of them carries some trappings on his breast.[2] The Temple Spoils.

These, as the most important part of the Spoils, seem to have closed this section of the pomp, and at

[1] See Note 2, p. 52.

[2] Bellori says, in reference to this figure, which comes immediately after the candlestick,—'Eques phaleris ornatus habet cingulum in pectore cum claviculis aureis.' But he does not tell us what these *phaleræ* are, which this Roman knight is carrying. Of course they must be Jewish spoils. They are strapped across the breast of the bearer, and they remind us of the high-priest's ephod and breastplate. We have, indeed, no account in Josephus of these pontifical appendages having been exhibited in the procession; but he tells us, in a passage already referred to, that, together with the candlestick and other implements, one of the priests delivered to Titus 'the vestments also of the high-priests, with the precious stones; and many other articles belonging to the sacred service.' Τὰ ἐνδύματα τῶν ἀρχιέρεων, σὺν τοῖς λίθοις, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας σκευῶν ἄλλα. *Bell. Jud.* VI. viii. 3.

The Temple Spoils.

a short distance before the conqueror's car. There are also three Title-boards above them, similar to those which we have seen upon the Frieze; which had probably inscriptions, for the information of the multitude, stating what these objects were, and whence they had been taken. There is one above the Table, another near the Candlestick, and a third, which must have indicated the Book of the Law; which, however, is no longer visible. Villalpanda thinks that the Book was omitted, as a less imposing object[1] than the other spoils. Prideaux suggests that it was not inserted for want of sufficient space to introduce it, together with the coffer in which it was kept.[2] Dr. Cardwell seems to think that this Book was nothing more than a tablet of gold, or of some other metal, inscribed with some portions of the Divine Law; of which, he says, there were many in the Temple, and one of more importance than the rest, which had the Ten Commandments engraved upon it.[3]

[1] 'Minus speciosum.' Villalpanda. *Explanat. in Ezech.* Tom. II. v. 4.

[2] Prideaux, *Connection.* Vol. I. I. 3, p. 166.

[3] Cardwell, *Adnotat. ad Bell. Jud.* VII. v. § 53.

None of these conjectures are satisfactory. Yet here it seemed as if our inquiry must end, till, on turning to the pages of an early modern writer, who must have been familiar with the Arch, for the first half of the fifteenth century, it appeared that the Book,—which Josephus describes as the last or crowning object of the spoils,[1]—had not been forgotten by the Roman sculptor, nor had anything else been substituted for it. Biondo, or Blondus, as he is commonly called, one of the earliest of the Italian antiquaries, and for many years the pope's secretary, tells us in his work, *De Româ Triumphante*, that the Book of the Jewish Law was extant in his time, amongst the marble sculptures on the Arch, together with the golden Table and the Candlestick: and it is a curious circumstance, which may account in some measure for the doubts and conjectures above-mentioned, that in later editions of Biondo's work, this notice of the sculptured spoils is wanting. While the marble record was yielding

The Temple Spoils.

[1] Ὅ τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τούτοις (*i. e.* the golden Table and the Candlestick) ἐφέρετο τῶν λαφύρων τελευταῖος. *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 5.

The Temple Spoils.

to decay the written one was also becoming obsolete.[1]

Such then are the Spoils, which, according to Josephus, made the greatest figure in the Triumph. Nothing is said of the Ark of the Covenant, which Pitiscus and others say was carried in the procession; probably mistaking this Table for the Ark, as has been done by many writers. For Jewish authorities are generally agreed that there was no Ark in the second Temple. Josephus says there was nothing at all in the Holy of Holies in his time.[2] Pompey, on entering, found

[1] After incorporating into the work above mentioned the greater part of Josephus' account of the Triumph, Biondo adds:—'In Titi Vespasiani triumpho inde gratiosiora sunt quam a Josepho scribuntur; quod ea in marmoreo triumphali arcu suo Romæ ad sanctam Mariam novam videmus extare; quæ apud Hierosolymam in templo reperta sunt: Mensa aurea, et Candelabrum auro factum; cujus formam melius lapis quam Josephi descriptio nobis ostendit: postea portabatur Lex Judæorum marmorea item extans.' *De Româ Triumphante*, Lib. x. p. cxxxi. b. Venet. 1511. I cite from a copy in the Bristol City Library. In two later editions, printed by Froben, at Basil, in 1531 and 1559, the account of the Triumph concludes as in Josephus; but it is not followed by an appeal to the sculptures on the Arch.

[2] Ἔκειτο οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ. *Bell. Jud.* v. v. 5.

it utterly empty:[1] a circumstance which Lucan is supposed to refer to, when, in speaking of Judæa's subjection to his hero, he calls her the worshipper of an unknown God.[2] The Temple Spoils.

And, as from respect for their sacred character, these spoils had the highest place of honour in the Triumph, a like distinction was also assigned them amongst the sculptured records of the Arch; where they still affirm their high and ancient origin, notwithstanding all the changes to which they had been subject, from the time of the erection of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, till their appearance on the shoulders of their Roman conquerors. And it may be well to take a glance at their eventful history, as far as we can trace them through this long and chequered interval.

27. What became of the Tabernacle vessels we know not: but we are told that, when Nebuchadnezzar took the Temple, he carried out the treasures of the Lord's House, and cut in pieces Their previous history.

[1] 'Inde vulgatum, Nulla intus Deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana.' Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

[2] 'Cappadoces mea signa timent, et dedita sacris Incerti Judæa dei.' *Civ. Bell.* II. 592.

Their previous history.

all the vessels of gold which Solomon had made for the Temple-service;[1] that is, the larger and more important implements. Many of the smaller ones were taken to Babylon, and, after having been exhibited at Belshazzar's feast, were brought back on the return from the Captivity. Those that had been destroyed were restored by Ezra, in pursuance of the orders of the Persian kings.[2]

These again became the prey of the spoiler. For though the Jews, under their Persian rulers, had much rest for many years, a great change again came over them, and they fell away from the Divine favour. They began to affect the vain-glory of the Greeks, and to adopt much of their life and manners. Their high-priesthood, having also become a rich and an important temporal sovereignty, involved the pontifical families in strife; and, in the midst of their feuds about the succession, Antiochus Epiphanes entered the city, and carried off from the Temple the golden altar, and the candlestick, and the shew-bread table, and other costly things; and went away with them into his own land.[3] So that, when Judas Macca-

[1] 2 *Kings* xxiv. [2] *Ezra* vi. vii. [3] 1 *Maccab.* i.

bæus succeeded, about three years after this second spoliation, in regaining possession of the plundered Temple, he too had to enter on the work of restoration, as Ezra and his companions had done before.

Their previous history.

'Then,' as we read in the first Book of the Maccabees, 'they took whole stones, according to the Law, and built up a new altar according to the former; and made up the sanctuary and the things that were within the Temple, and hallowed the courts. They made also new holy vessels; and into the Temple they brought the Candlestick,[1] and the Altar of incense and the Table. And upon the Altar they burnt incense; and the lamps that were upon the Candlestick they lighted, that they might give light in the Temple. Furthermore, they set the loaves upon the Table, and spread out

[1] In our common version there is here an interpolation. 'And into the Temple they brought the candlestick and the altar *of burnt-offering and* of incense.' But the burnt-offering altar had no place in the ναὸς or sanctuary, and its restoration by Judas is mentioned just before, v. 47. Our translators seem to have followed the Alexandrian text instead of the Vatican; in which ὁλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ are wanting.

Their previous history.

the veils, and finished all the works which they had begun to make."[1] And, in devout commemoration of these events, they instituted the Feast of the Dedication; at which, about two centuries after, our Lord, as the Evangelist relates, was present, and walked in the Temple in Solomon's porch.[2]

Thus the Hebrew Ritual was once more restored; and, by the superintending care of its Divine Author, it continued till those vessels of the worldly sanctuary, with the sanctuary itself, were superseded by the manifestation of the new and living Way into the Holiest of all by the blood of Jesus; according to the order of the true Tabernacle which the Lord pitched and not man.[3]

Date of their construction. B.C. 164.

These vessels then, which were carried in the Triumph, date their construction from this cleansing of the Temple, two hundred and thirty-four years before its pillage and destruction by the Romans. And, though nothing is said of any models or directions, which Judas Maccabæus had recourse to in his work, we may conclude that

[1] 1 *Maccab.* iv. 47—51. [2] *John* x. 22, 23.
[3] *Hebrews* ix. 8; x. 19; viii. 2.

he would look to the Old Testament ritual,—to the pattern originally given to Moses: and it will be interesting to the Biblical student to see how these reconstructions, in their chief features, appear to justify their venerable paternity.

Date of their construction. B.C. 164.

28. The rules for the construction of the Shew-bread Table are given at large in the Book of Exodus.

The Shew-bread Table.

'Thou shalt also make a Table of Shittim wood,' that is, of the wild Acacia of the desert:[1] 'two cubits shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make unto it a border of a hand-breadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about.'[2]

Order for its construction.

As to the relative proportions of these Tables,—the draft in Scripture and the sculptured figure,—

Compared with sculptures on the Arch.

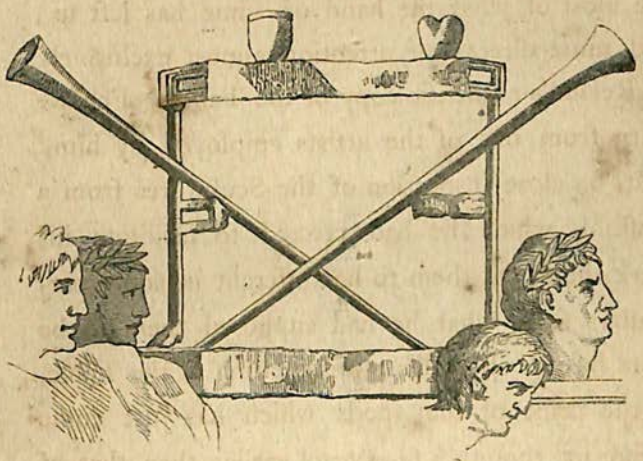
[1] Gesenius, s. v. Shittah. It was the chief growth of the Desert, though rare in Palestine. An incidental confirmation of the text. Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 20.

[2] *Exodus* xxv. 23—25.

Order for the Table compared with the Sculptures.

there is a general agreement in length and height. The breadth of course is lost in a bas-relief; though the sculptor has rather unartistically given us three sides in one view. We must make, however, the most of what the hand of Time has left us; and must direct our attention almost exclusively to Reland's authentic copy of the Table. For we learn from one of the artists employed by him,[1] that, on close inspection of the Sculptures from a scaffold, which he had erected to facilitate his work, he found them to be different in some particulars from what he had supposed them to be from below. Bartoli's representation of the Table, in the print of the spoils which has just come before us, though a few years earlier than that of Reland, is not an exact copy of the Table, at that time. Nor was it his object to give these Sculptures in the state of decay in which he found them; but, as we learn from the title of his work, to

[1] See *Letter* to Reland by Antony Twyman, June 20, 1710. He is speaking especially of the Candlestick; but the remark applies to the other sculptures; which were copied at the same time by another artist. *De Spoliis Templi Hierosol. in Arcu Titiano.* cap. i. p. 5.



THE SHEWBREAD TABLE, WITH ITS MEMORIAL CUPS AND THE TRUMPETS.

AS THEY APPEARED A. D. MDCCX.

FROM RELAND, DE SPOLIIS TEMPLI HIEROSOLYMITANI IN ARCU TITIANO.

represent them as restored to their original beauty: a work which, with the exception of a few arbitrary details, he has executed with great effect. The Shew-bread Table.

One of the first things that strike us in this sculptured Table is the circumstance that its surface is not surmounted by that serrated sort of border, which is attached to all the ordinary prints of it; but for which there appears to be no authority.[1]

We read indeed that the Table was to have what is called, in our version, a crown of gold; that is, a golden wreath or border,[2] all round the framework; which still forms part of the sculptured work; the upper frame remaining, though much decayed, the lower one reduced to two mere fragments. We may also trace upon the frames themselves this 'border of a handbreadth round about,' or rather the marks of the place where it had been; a sort of narrow groove or indentation, as Josephus describes it in his *Antiquities*.[3]

[1] Reland, *De Spoliis*, cap. vii. pp. 70, 71.

[2] Avenarius, *Lex. Hebr.* s. v. זר p. 213.

[3] Κοιλαίνεται . . . κατὰ παλαιστὴν τὸ ἔδαφος ἕλικος περιθεούσης τό τε ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος. *Antiq. Jud.* III. vi. 6.

The Shew-bread Table.

The Ritual also directs that the Table shall have four golden rings in the corners of the feet, for receiving the staves by which it was to be carried;[1] and Villalpanda suggests that the fragments of the frame, which once connected the legs of the Table,—two of which have long since disappeared,—indicate the places of two of these rings.[2] But it is doubtful whether there were any such appliances in the Table which was made for Solomon's Temple, when the service was limited to one locality:[3] and it is not probable that they would be restored in any subsequent reconstructions.

We may also observe that, though in Bartoli's Table[4] he has restored some parts of the original design, he is not correct in the plinth which he has added, as the base on which the Table rests. In Reland's print,[5] which may be regarded as authentic, and which exactly agrees with the present state of the sculpture, except that now it is still more decayed, instead of this plinth there is nothing

[1] *Exodus* xxv. 26, 27.

[2] *Explanat. Ezech.* v. iv. 70.

[3] Jahn, *Archæologia Biblica*, § 331: e contra, Reland, *De Spoliis*, cap. x.

[4] See print, p. 85.

[5] See p. 97.

more than the stage on which the spoils were carried in the procession; as is indicated also by the peculiar formation of the only foot which is visible. The Shewbread Table.

Josephus compares the Shewbread Table with what were then called Delphic tables, a costly kind of furniture then common in Rome.[1] The upper parts of the feet, he says, were square, the lower parts were perfectly finished, like those attached to Doric couches;[2] which probably means that they terminated in the finished foot of an animal; as

[1] Ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τράπεζαν ἱδρύεται (Μωϋσῆς) Δελφικαῖς παραπλησίαν. *Antiq. Jud.* III. vi. 6. Bishop Patrick understands Josephus as saying that the Shewbread Table 'was like the famous Table at Delphi.' *Comment. on Exod.* xxv. 23. But, if such had been his meaning, would he not have said τῇ ἐν Δελφοῖς παραπλησίαν, not Δελφικαῖς? These *Delphics*, as they were called, were a sort of abacus or sideboard, overlaid with gold or silver; the chief matter of comparison with the Shewbread Table: for in some things they could not have been much alike.

[2] Ἦσαν δ' αὐτῇ πόδες, τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἡμίσους ἕως τῶν κάτω τελέως ἀπηρτισμένοι, οἷς Δωριεῖς προστιθεῖσι ταῖς κλίναις ἐμφερεῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνατεῖνον τετράγωνοι τῇ ἐργασίᾳ. *Antiq. Jud.* III. vi. 6. The quadrangular edges, if indeed they were copied by the sculptor, appear to be worn away.

81957

The Shewbread Table.

appears in Reland's copy of the sculptured work. So that in this respect the Table in the spoils, though it agreed with the one with which Josephus was familiar, must have differed from the draft in the sacred ritual: a difference which was probably owing to the fancy of the last restorers of the Temple-service, or of some Grecian artist employed by them. That this figure, however, is the Shewbread Table, we have other and not uninteresting proof.

There were four sets of vessels belonging to this Table; and Reland has expended much curious learning in endeavouring to distinguish their several forms and uses.[1] There was also, as we learn from a Rabbinical writer, a large staff of officers who had to attend upon it:[2] for it was evidently served with great ceremony; according to the character of that Dispensation, which might well be called the 'Mother of Form and Fear;' but which was wisely designed to instruct her children in the ways best adapted to their age and circumstances.

We learn from the ritual order in Leviticus, that twelve Cakes of fine flour, according to the number of the tribes of the people, were to be set upon the

[1] *De Spoliis*, cap. xi. [2] *Ibid.* p. 117.

Table continually, in two piles of six cakes each; and that a Cup of pure Frankincense, for a memorial to the Lord, was to be placed upon each pile. The Cakes were to be changed every sabbath day, and to be distributed amongst the priests; and the Frankincense, that had been placed upon them, was to be burnt; in token that the Bread, though not to be destroyed, had been given to the Lord as a burnt offering.[1] The Shew-bread Table.

As to the mystic purport of this ordinance, though it does not necessarily belong to our inquiry, it may tend to throw some light upon it. This Holy Place of the Lord's House, what was it but a figure of that Church or community into which his covenant people were admitted by the Sacrifice and the Laver in the outer court? What the priests, who ministered therein, but the representatives of the chosen people, thus brought into near and privileged communion with Him who dwelt especially within the inner veils? And what the Bread, which they placed there before Him,—thence called the Bread of his presence,—but the common symbols of those elements of Life,—it

[1] *Levit.* xxiv. 5—9.

The Shew-bread Table.

may be of Life both bodily and spiritual,—which his people were always receiving at his hands, and were always again devoting to his service; and of which this Incense was the well-known figure; a sort of embodied act of praise, continually ascending to the gracious Giver?[1] And we learn from Josephus' account of the Table, that there were two small golden Cups, belonging to it, for holding the Frankincense in these services.[2]

The memorial Cups.

These are undoubtedly the two Cups which we still see upon the sculptured table; and which were probably brought to Titus by one of the priests, who is said to have rescued many of the spoils. In Bartoli's engraving[3]—why, we cannot say,—there appears to be only one Cup: in

[1] Such is Tirin's explication of this ordinance. 'Per hos panes XII. Tribus pulchre significabant se a Deo continuo ali, et gratitudinis ergo perpetuum quasi sacrificium illi offerre, et vicem referre: nam et Thus panibus istis imponebant (*Levit.* xxiv.), et a solis sacerdotibus edendi erant hi panes.' *Pol. Syn. in Exod.* XXV. 30.

[2] Ἐπὶ ταύτης (*i.e.* the Table) διετίθεσαν ἄρτων τε δώδεκα ἀζύμους κατὰ ἓξ ἀπαλλήλους κειμένους, καθαροῦ πάνυ τοῦ ἀλεύρου ἐκ δύο ἀσσαρώνων· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄρτων ἐτίθεντο δύο φιάλαι χρύσεαι, λιβάνωτοῦ πλήρεις. *Antiq. Jud.* III. vi. 6.

[3] See p. 85.

Reland's[1] one of them is much decayed, in consequence of an extensive fissure in the marble; and, judging from recent photographic prints, this Cup will probably ere long be hardly visible. There can, however, be no doubt that these Cups represent those appendages of the Table which served to mark the rites of the conquered. Nor can their small dimensions lessen their importance. For, as we learn from a Rabbinical commentary on Leviticus,[2] that the priests used only two handfuls of Frankincense, one for each pile of Bread, these Cups would be large enough to hold it: and as a part therefore of the Table's furniture, for holding what the Hebrews called the *Azcarah*,[3] the fire-

The memorial Cups.

[1] See p. 97.

[2] 'Illud te, lector, esse admonitum volo,' says Reland, 'ut ad harum acerrarum attendas magnitudinem, quæ satis bene convenit cum iis quæ Judæi de illa tradunt. Volunt *pugillum thuris*, קומץ לבונה, singulis fuisse impositum. Disertis verbis id R. Simeon tradit, cujus sententia refertur in *Siphra*, fol. 262. 1. 'Requiruntur duo pugilli thuris, unus pugillus plenus pro uno ordine panum, alter pro altero.'—*De Spoliis*, cap. xi.

[3] Kurtz on *Sacrifical Worship*, III. ii. § 148. In the *LXX.* it is rendered μνημόσυνον; in the *Vulgate*, Memoriale; by Bunsen, Fire-portion.

portion, or sacred memorial, they had good reason to be there.

The sacred Trumpets.

28. But what shall we say of the Trumpets? Josephus, in his enumeration of the spoils, makes no mention of the Trumpets as having formed part of them, though he says expressly, as we have heard already, that he does not profess to give an account of all the spoils. Yet, as he appears to have been present at the procession, we cannot but conclude that, if the Trumpets were borne in it, they could not have had so conspicuous a place as they have upon the sculptured tablet.

He describes in his *Antiquities* the kind of Trumpet which was used in his time in the Temple-service; and it agrees with the figures here given. Moses, he says, was its inventor; it was made of silver, a little shorter than a cubit; its mouth was a little larger than that of a flute, just wide enough to admit the breath; it ended, like common trumpets, in the shape of a bell; it was called in the Hebrew tongue *Asosra*.[1]

[1] Εὗρε δὲ καὶ βυκάνης τρόπον, ἐξ ἀργυρίου ποιησάμενος. ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη· μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυαῖον ὀλίγῳ λεῖπον· στενὴ δ' ἐστὶ σύριγξ αὐλοῦ βραχὺ παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα

This word is obviously one of that class, which are designed to be an echo of the sense, though *Asosra* but feebly represents the force of the Hebrew original, *Chatzotzerah;* in which the effect, as Ewald remarks,[1] of the position of the second and third radical letters, reminds us of the broken crashing of the Trumpet's blast. The sacred Trumpets.

The order for the construction and the use of these Trumpets is given at length in the Book of Numbers.

'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Make thee two Trumpets of silver; of a whole piece shalt thou make them: that thou mayest use them for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camps.' Then we have various military signals, which are to be given in various emergencies. 'And the sons of Aaron, the priest, shall blow with the Trumpets; and they shall be to you for an ordinance for ever

ὁ δὲ εὖρος ἀρκοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν πνεύματος, εἰς κώδωνα ταῖς σάλπιγξι παραπλησίως τελοῦν· ἀσωσρὰ καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν. *Antiq. Jud.* III. xii. 6.

[1] See his remarks on the onomatopoetic structure of חֲצֹצְרָה. *Hebrew Grammar*, by Nicholson, § 333: also Gesenius, *Lex. Hebr.* s. v.

The sacred Trumpets.

throughout your generations. And if ye go to war in your land against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the Trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before the Lord your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies. Also in the day of your gladness, and in your solemn days, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with the Trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; that they may be to you for a memorial before your God: I am the Lord your God.'[1]

And these Trumpets, which are called by Moses the *Chatzotzeroth*, are to be distinguished from the one called *Shophar*, the common designation of the Jubilee trumpet;[2] which was curved, and is properly called a *Cornet*, as in our version of the ninety-eighth Psalm, where we have both words in the same line. 'With trumpets and sound of the cornet...make a joyful noise before the Lord, the King.'[3] Our Biblical antiquaries must there-

[1] *Numbers* x. 1, 2, 8—10.

[2] *Levit.* xxv. 9.

[3] In Coverdale's version, still in use in our Psalter, instead of *cornet* we have *shawms*. 'With trumpets

fore be mistaken in saying that these sculptured figures on the Arch represent the Jubilee trumpets;[1] from which they differed in size and in structure, as well as in some of the sacred uses in which they were employed in the service of the sanctuary. They were probably amongst the Temple spoils, which Josephus tells us were brought to Titus; and which, if not actually arranged in the pomp, as we here see them upon the rails of the Table, were so placed by the Roman sculptor with an obviously ingenious graphic effect.

The sacred Trumpets.

30. It only remains to notice the Candlestick, which was also carried in the triumph.

The seven-branched Candle-stick.

'This Candlestick,' says Josephus, 'was, like

also, and shawms, O shew yourselves joyful before the Lord the King.' Our etymologists are not agreed as to this word. Tyrwhitt, on Chaucer, makes it identical with psalteries. Skinner: 'Lituus a verbo *shallen* resonare, hisi a psalmis malis deflectere; prius tamen magis placet.' Richardson derives it from the French, Chalemie and Chalmelle, a reed or pipe. The word was no doubt extant amongst us in Wycliffe's time, but he prefers a simple version of the Vulgate: 'In tubis ductilibus et voce tubæ corneæ.' 'In trumpis beten out, and in vois of the hornene trumpe.'

[1] Horne's *Introduction*, Pt. III. chap. i. sect. ii. vol. III.

The seven-branched Candlestick.

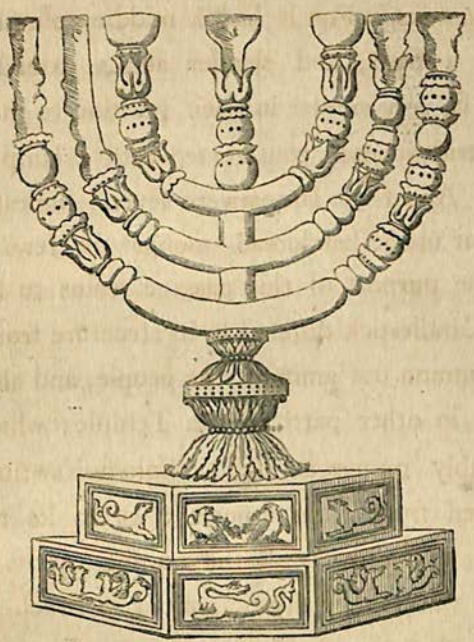
the Table, made of gold, but it was arranged in a different manner from those in common use amongst us. For it had a middle column, fixed upon a basis, and slender stalks extended out from it, very similar in their position to the figure of a trident, each constructed with a lamp on the top. And these lamps were seven; indicating the honour of the hebdomad amongst the Jews.'[1]

The purport of this passage seems to be, that this Candlestick differed in its structure from those in common use amongst the people, and also from those in other parts of the Temple; which were probably numerous, as in Sŏlomon's time.[2] It differed from them especially as to its tridental shape, and also as to the number of its lamps, which was held in mystic honour in Israel.

So also the Talmud enjoins,—That no one

[1] Χρυσῆ τε τράπεζα τὴν ὁλκὴν πολυτάλαντος, καὶ λυχνία χρυσοῦ μὲν ὁμοίως πεποιημένη· τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθείας. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέσος ἦν κίων ἐκ τῆς βάσεως πεπηγὼς, λεπτοὶ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεμήκυντο καυλίσκοι, τριαίνης σχήματι παραπλησίαν τὴν θέσιν ἔχοντες, λύχνον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἄκρων κεχαλκευμένος. Ἑπτὰ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑβδομάδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες. *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 5.

[2] 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 14, 15.



THE SEVEN-BRANCHED CANDLESTICK.

AS IT APPEARED A.D. MDCCX.

FROM RELAND, DE SPOLIIS TEMPLI HIEROSOLYMITANI IN ARCU TITIANO.

shall build a House after the likeness of the Holy one; nor make a table like its Table; nor form a Lampstand like the sacred one; for though they might make one of five, or six, or eight branches, they were not to construct one of seven; even though they made it not of gold, but of any other metal.[1] And order for its construction.

Such was obviously the great Candlestick, of which we have the figure on the Arch. It has the centre shaft and the six branches: and they are spread out in the manner of a trident; that is, not in many and different directions, as is usual with the branches of modern candelabra, but all extended in the same plane.

In one respect, indeed, there seems to be a difference between the sculptured figure and the description in Josephus. He says that the branches of the Candlestick were slender; which cannot be said of the sculptured branches, as compared with other objects on the tablet. Reland conjectures that the Roman sculptor made the branches larger than they were in the original, in order to give more importance to the figure, and

[1] *Rosh Hasschana*, fol. 25, in Reland, *De Spoliis*, pp. 15, 16.

The seven-branched Candle-stick.

to compensate for its distance from spectators below; as the bas-reliefs on Trajan's column are said to increase in size as they approach its summit.[1] Nothing is said in the sacred ritual as to the size of the Candlestick, or as to the relative proportions of its parts; but it speaks with great precision of the construction of the branches.

'And thou shalt make a Candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work shall the Candlestick be made: its shaft and its branches, its bowls, its knops, and its flowers, shall be of the same. And six branches shall come out of the sides of it; three branches of the Candlestick out of the one side, and three branches of the Candlestick out of the other side.'[2]

So far the ritual and the sculptured form agree: but there is more detail in what follows.

'Three bowls, made like unto almonds, with a knop and a flower in one branch; and three bowls made like almonds in the other branch, with a knop and a flower: so in the six branches that come out of the Candlestick.'[3]

[1] *De Spoliis*, cap. iv. [2] *Exodus* xxv. 31, 32.
[3] *Ibid.* xxv. 33.

Here we have an account, not only of the branches, and of the shaft, which forms the seventh light, but also of certain ornaments upon each of the branches. And order for its construction.

The word *Geviyim*, translated Bowls, generally means the calices or cups of flowers; here more especially that of the almond; and probably denotes the sort of cup which is above and below each of the knops.[1] The word *Capthorim*, translated Knops, is rendered by Josephus 'pomegranates.' It seems to denote the balls or apples which occur between the upper and lower cups.[2] *Perachim*, which Gesenius renders 'an artificial flower,' denotes the lily-like blossom which we see

[1] Fürst, *Vet. Test. Concord.* s. v. גְּבִיעַ, 'Calyx florum, sicut calyx glandis, *κύτταρος*.' But in addition to גְּבִעִים we have מְשֻׁקָּדִים, which the *LXX.* render *ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρυΐσκους*, that is, says Reland, 'Incisos forma amygdali, vel nucis, ita ut partes incisæ amygdalum referant; *καρύϊνην* enim nonnulli, quod alii *ἀμυγδαλίνην* vertunt.' — *De Spoliis*, pp. 53, 54. Rosenmüller, however, interprets שְׁקֵדִים not of the fruit, but of the flower. —*Scholia in Exod.* xxv. 34.

[2] Fürst, *Ibid.* s. v. כַּפְתֹּר, 'Corolla, capitulum, de globulis Candelabri arte factis, qui teste Josefo (*Arch.* vi. vii. 7) balaustiorum seu malogranatorum erant similes.'

The seven-branched Candlestick.

on each of the branches, and near the top of the shaft.' A writer in the Talmud describes it as the sort of flower which forms the capitals of columns; and with which indeed it well agrees.[1]

But, in the two next verses, we have matters not so plainly identified with the other parts of the sculptured figure.

'And in the Candlestick shall be four bowls made like unto almonds, with their knops and their flowers. And there shall be a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches that proceed out of the Candlestick.'[2]

Here *the* Candlestick evidently means the upright shaft or column only, as forming its chief part and stay; and it seems from these verses that in the original Candlestick in the Tabernacle, these ornaments must have been repeated under each

[1] Gesenius, *Lex. Hebr.* פֶּרַח. Fürst, s. v. remarks, probably in reference to the passage cited by Reland from the Talmud: 'Flos, nonnunquam de ornamento architectonice.' The *LXX.* often render it *κρίνον*.

[2] *Exodus* xxv. 34, 35.

pair of branches, as we see them upon the upper part of the shaft. Here the sculptured figure fails us. The Candlestick, made by the last restorers, was probably wanting in these decorations, or we may conclude that the sculptor would not have omitted so obvious an improvement of the whole figure; though there is some reason to complain of a want of precision in some of the minor details of his work.[1]

And order for its construction.

We have only to add a word or two on the Pedestal, which seems to be entirely a piece of Roman work, and must have been utterly unlike the original. Nothing is said in the ritual of this part of the Candlestick; but we learn from Jewish writers that it stood on three feet, and that the priests who had the charge of it had to mount up several steps to set its lamps in order.[2] It must evidently, therefore, have been much more elevated than this figure would lead one to expect.

[1] Reland instances especially the want of uniformity in the lower branches of the Candlestick.—*De Spoliis*, pp. 7, 39, 59.

[2] Pfeiffer, *De Struct. Temp.* vii. 4. *Opp. Philol.* p. 224; also Jarchi's *Comment. on Exodus* xxv. 31, in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, vol. i. p. 588.

The seven-branched Candlestick.

The original base was probably lost amongst the plunder of the Temple, and the one here represented may have been substituted for it, for the purpose of its being carried in the pomp. Or, it is not improbable that this sculptured pedestal may have originated entirely with the artist who executed the tablet, and who added it merely to complete his work; together with the common forms of decoration, which we see upon the lower parts of the Pedestal; especially the eagles with garlands in their beaks. Certainly neither these nor the anomalous figures near them could have found admission into the Holy Place.[1]

And here ends our present inquiry. Nor need we ask, as in reference to the Table, what was the use of this great Candlestick; for it formed the

[1] The Jewish doctors, according to Josephus, pronounced it to be unlawful, *κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἢ εἰκόνας ἢ προτομὰς ἢ ζώου τινὸς ἐπώνυμον ἔργον εἶναι. Jud. Bell.* I. xxxiii. 2. These figures on the Pedestal were probably nothing more than a *Lusus sculptoris*, as Reland calls them. The circumstance, that the eagle was the Roman *ἡγεμονίας τεκμήριον*, may probably account for its introduction here.

only light of the Holy Place, which, without it, would have been in total darkness. Yet, so entirely was the Tabernacle and its furniture pervaded by an intelligent and acknowledged symbolism, that, although we cannot concur in the mystic fancies and ethnical interpretations of Philo and Josephus, there is much to induce us to regard this Candelabrum as an eminent figure of that Divine illumination, with which the Church has been enriched in all ages by the Lord and Giver of the Light of Life.[1] Its use and mystery.

In the number of its branches, so studiously constructed, we have the Church's well-known covenant signature;[2] and in the pure oil, with

[1] 'Septem illæ lampades,' says Vitringa on *Rev.* i. 20, 'tam Candelabri Mosaici typici, quam mystici illius Candelabri, quod Zachariæ in visione exhibitum est, haud dubie respiciunt Ecclesiam Catholicam, a Verbo et Spiritu Dei illuminandam per omnia illius tempora et status.'—*Anacrisis Apoc.* p. 35.

[2] 'Numerus sanctus et τελεσφόρος,' says Fürst.: *Vet. Test. Concord.* s. v. שֶׁבַע: also s. v. שָׁבַע, *Jurare*, and the places where it occurs. See also a comprehensive and interesting account of the 'symbolic dignity' of this Number, in Archbishop Trench's *Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches*, pp. 57–64.

Its use and mystery.

which they were supplied, we have the sacred symbol of the Unction of the Holy One. Thus the Candlestick became an instructive emblem of the covenant people in their special character as the receivers and dispensers of the Light of Life.[1] And it suggests to all, who are children of the Light, that, wherever Christ has placed this Candlestick,—this Light of the world, as He calls his disciples,—there no spiritual darkness should be found, but the Light of the knowledge of Him and of his ways; in which it is their highest dignity and duty, as his Church and representatives, to flourish and abound.

General Inference as to the Spoils.

31. As regards the value of these Sculptures—as authentic records of Jewish antiquities, of which we possess no other copies, as illustrations of our Lord's prophecy, and confirmations of a great historic fact,—few persons will be disposed to question their importance. And though we cannot suppose that any of the originals, from which the artist made his designs, were actually the work of

[1] Hengstenberg *On the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, by Ryland, vol. ii. p. 528.

Bezaleel and Aholiab, or formed a part of the furniture of the Tabernacle,—who can look at them without feeling, that their prototypes are undoubtedly to be found in those old records of the Hebrew ritual,—the books of Exodus and Leviticus? They take their origin from those venerable ordinances, which were delivered upwards of three thousand years ago: they remind us of that solemn archetypal voice, which followed the delivery of their models to Moses,—'See that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the Mount.'[1]

General Inference as to the Spoils.

32. On quitting these sculptured memorials it is obvious to ask, what became of their originals? What did the conquerors do with these spoils, after they had enriched their transitory triumph, and had feasted the eyes of the heathen multitude; who probably regarded them as nothing more than the relics of the worship of another of those deities who had, from time to time, submitted to the Roman War-god, being unable to protect their worshippers?

What became of them?

33. Before, however, we answer this question,

[1] *Exodus* xx. 40. *Hebrews* viii. 5.

A query by Fuller.

we may notice another, which Fuller suggests, in immediate connexion with this inquiry; and it cannot be answered in better words than his own.

'We read,' says he, 'what befel Belshazzar, when he quaffed in the vessels of the Temple. Some perchance might have expected that God, to punish the profanation of these holy instruments, should then have showed some signal judgment on the profaners. But the case was altered; the date of ceremonies was then expired, the use of types had ended, Christ, the Truth, being come; and the moon may set obscurely without any man's taking notice of her, when the sun is risen.'[1]

Their sojourn at Rome.

34. Josephus tells us, that after the triumph, Vespasian built a temple to Peace; and that there, amongst other trophies of his conquests, he deposited the vessels that had been taken from the Temple: the Law and the vails or curtains of the Sanctuary he ordered to be laid up in the imperial palace.[2]

This Temple of Peace was, according to

[1] *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, v. 19, p. 179.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* VII. v. 7.

Herodian, the largest and the most beautiful work of art in Rome; the richest also in its endowments.[1] Different opinions have, however, been formed of Vespasian's design in its erection. Some writers say that his only object was to leave a memorial of his successful career, and of the settlement of the imperial crown in his family. Others say, that he affected nothing less than the character and the honours of that great Personage who had been expected to spring out of Judæa, and to carry his peaceful dominion to the ends of the world.[2] A delusion into which he may, perhaps, have fallen, when he found it adopted, as we have seen it was, by one who had already predicted his elevation to the throne;[3] and who was

Their sojourn at Rome.

[1] Herodian, *Hist.* lib. I. cap. xiv.

[2] See the statements of Castalio and Baronius in Pitiscus' edition of Suetonius, *Tit. Flav. Vesp.* cap. ix., note by the editor. But Castalio's inference, in favour of the former of these opinions, cannot be sustained by the Inscription on which he rests it; as may be seen by reference to the entire Inscription in Gruter's *Corpus Inscript.*, tom. I. p. ccxxxix.

[3] Σὺ μὲν, εἶπεν, Οὐεσπασιανὲ, νομίζεις αἰχμάλωτον, αὐτὸν μόνον εἰληφέναι τὸν Ἰώσηπον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἄγγελος ἧκω σοι μειζόνων. . . . Δεσπότης μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐμοῦ σὺ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παν-

Their sojourn at Rome.

too ready to foster the suggestion of his heathen flatterers,—That there was nothing beyond the reach of his high destiny; nothing, after all the good fortune that had befallen him, too great to be believed.[1]

This temple was, however, but a short-lived monument, whatever may have been the object in erecting it. It lasted but little longer than a century: but even that was longer than the Flavian dynasty, which came to so ignoble an end in Domitian. It was destroyed by fire in the reign of Commodus, in a manner that could not be accounted for, and which was considered as ominous of the disastrous times that ensued.[2] It was burnt to the ground; and could not, therefore, have been that building whose ruins bore so long the name of Vespasian's Temple of Peace, and

τὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους. . . . Κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ εἰς πίστιν ὑπήγετο. *Bell. Jud.* III. viii. 9.

[1] 'Cuncta Fortunæ suæ patere ratus,' says Tacitus, 'nec quidquam ultra incredibile.'—*Hist.* IV. lxxxi. Such, too, was the notion under which Vespasian, when in Egypt, was prevailed upon to try his hand at miracles, just after he had been raised to the empire by the voice of his legions.

[2] Herodian, *Hist.* lib. I. cap. xiv.

have hardly lost it even now. If, however, we may credit later writers, the Jewish spoils did not perish with this temple: but how they were saved, and where they were deposited, till we hear of them again, we know not.[1] Their sojourn at Rome.

35. As for the story, still current in Rome, and which has been referred to in some recent works,[2] —that the golden Candlestick was lost in the Tiber, when Maxentius, after his defeat at Saxa Rubra, was attempting to cross the Milvian bridge,— there does not seem to be any reliable authority. None is given in the works above mentioned. Nor is there, as I learn from a friend, whom I requested to examine the sculptures on the arch A doubtful story. A.D. 312.

[1] In Dyer's *Ruins of Rome*, there are some lines on 'Salem's sacred spoils,' which were deposited in this Temple of Peace; but, amongst other mistakes, he says, that these spoils are now 'entombed there, beneath the sunk roof.' With most antiquaries, up to the time of his poem, he was under the impression that the enormous ruined vaults, on the north of the Forum, were the remains of this temple. It is now generally held that they are the ruins of a Basilica of Constantine, and that of Vespasian's temple there are no remains. —Burton's *Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 218.

[2] Dean Stanley's *Eastern Church*, Lecture vi. p. 226. Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 250.

A doubtful story. A.D. 312.

of Constantine,—where, if anywhere, we might expect to find it,—any trace of this story; though Constantine's arch was built to commemorate this very victory at the Milvian bridge, and he is represented, on one of its bas-reliefs, as bearing down upon Maxentius, who is struggling underneath him in the river.

Further history of the Spoils.

36. But though we must question the truth of this story, we have other information as to the fate of these Spoils, which is entitled to much more credit.

Their transfer into Africa. A.D. 455.

We are told by Theophanes that, on the third day after that on which the emperor Maximus was killed, Genseric, the Vandal, having entered Rome, sent on shipboard all the money that he found there, and the most remarkable things in the city; amongst which there were certain golden treasures and jewels, that had belonged to the churches, and Hebrew vessels which Titus, after the capture of Jerusalem, had brought to Rome; and, taking with him Eudoxia, the queen, and her daughters, he sailed away with them to Africa.[1]

[1] Ὁ δὲ Γιζέριχος μηδενὸς Ῥώμην τῇ γ'. ἡμέρᾳ τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτῷ ἀντιστάντος, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Μαξίμου, καὶ λαβὼν πάντα τὰ

37. Another notice of Jewish spoils, about half a century later than the preceding, occurs in Procopius's *History of the Gothic War*. He states, in his account of the exploits of Theodoric, that the old town Carcaso, in Languedoc, then in the hands of the Visigoths, was vigorously besieged by a body of Germans, in consequence of a report that royal treasures were concealed there, which Alaric the elder had brought from Rome; and that amongst them there were costly things which had once belonged to Solomon, and many other articles, adorned with precious stones, which the Romans had formerly brought from Jerusalem. We are not told how far this report was true, as to the treasures being Jewish treasures; but that, on the arrival of Theodoric, who came to protect the rights of his grandson, the city was relieved of its besiegers; and that, after his return from

Other spoils in France. A.D. 509.

χρήματα, καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως θεάματα εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαλών, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν κειμήλια ὁλόχρυσα καὶ διάλιθα ἐκκλησιαστικά, καὶ σκεύη Ἑβραικά, ἅπερ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Τίτος μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν Ἱερυσολύμων εἰς Ῥώμην ἤγαγε, σὺν τούτοις λαβὼν καὶ Εὐδοξίαν τὴν βασίλισσαν, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, εἰς Ἀφρικὴν ἀπέπλευσε.—Theophanis *Chronographia, Corpus Byzant. Hist.* tom. vi. p. 75.

other conquests, he carried off the treasures to Ravenna.[1]

Further transfer to Byzantium. A.D. 534.

38. What became of these treasures does not appear. But, with regard to the spoils before mentioned, which Genseric had carried away into Africa, we have further information in another work of Procopius.

[1] Καρκασιανὴν δὲ πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐπολίορκουν· ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον ἐνταῦθα ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ὃν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἀλάριχος ὁ πρεσβύτατος, Ῥώμην ἑλών, ἐλήισατο. ἐν τοῖς ἦν καὶ τὰ Σολόμωνος τοῦ Ἑβραίων βασιλέως κειμήλια ἀξιοθέατα ἐσάγανοντα. πρασία γὰρ λίθος αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκαλλώπιζεν, ἅπερ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν εἷλον. . . . . Χρήματά τε λαβὼν ξύμπαντα, ὅσα ἐν πόλει Καρκασιανῇ ἔκειτο, ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἀπήλαυνεν.—*De Bello Gothico; Corpus Byzant. Hist.* tom. ii. p. 25. Reland cites only the first portion of these passages (part of which seems to be incurably corrupt), omitting the transfer to Ravenna; probably from mere inadvertence, as it stands at some distance from the former part. As, however, he places it just before the account of Genseric's spoliation, it looks, in his narrative, as if these spoils at Carcaso might have gone back to Rome, and have been even the very spoils which Genseric found there: whereas Genseric's sack of Rome was in A.D. 455, the very year of the birth of Theodoric; whose interposition in behalf of his grandchild, the son of Alaric the Second, was, as we have seen, some fifty years later, about A.D. 509.

He tells us, in his *History of the Vandal War*, that, after the subjugation of the Vandals in Africa, Belisarius came with Gelimer, and a large amount of spoils, to Byzantium, and there enacted something of what the Romans call a triumph: yet not exactly in their ancient fashion; for he went on foot from his house to the palace, with the thrones and chariots of the Vandal queen, and with the spoils which Genseric had carried off from Rome; and that amongst them were the vessels, which, on the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus had transported with other things to Rome. He adds, that a Jew, happening to see them, said to a person well known to the emperor,—That, in his opinion, it was not expedient that the spoils should be taken into the palace; for that they could never be kept in any other place than that where of old they had been deposited by King Solomon [that is, supposing them to have belonged to the first Temple]; that this was the reason why Genseric had taken the Roman palace, and why the Romans had now taken that of the Vandals. The historian adds, that, on hearing these words, the emperor (Justinian) was alarmed; and

Their transfer to Byzantium. A.D. 534.

Transfer to Byzantium. A. D. 534.

speedily sent them all away to the holy places of the Christians in Jerusalem.[1]

These appear to be the last tidings of these Spoils: vague enough and unsatisfactory, as to the specific articles themselves; whether they consisted up to this period, of all those articles to which our

[1] I subjoin the whole passage, as it is the last account of these Spoils; and we may remember that the writer was the general's attendant and secretary:—Ἦν δὲ λάφυρα μὲν, ὅσα δὴ ὑπουργίᾳ τῇ βασιλέως ἀνεῖσθαι εἰώθει, θρόνοι τε χρυσοῖ, καὶ ὀχήματα, οἷς δὴ τὴν βασιλέως γυναῖκα ὀχεῖσθαι νόμος. καὶ κόσμος πολὺς ἐκ λίθων ἐντίμων συγκείμενος· ἐκπώματά τε χρυσᾶ, καὶ τἆλλα ξύμπαντα, ὅσα εἰς τὴν βασιλέως θοίνην χρήσιμα. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἔλκων μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλὰς, καὶ πάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν κειμηλίων πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα· ἅτε Γιζερίχου τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σεσυληκότος παλάτιον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρέθη· ἐν τοῖς καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια ἦν, ἅπερ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Τῖτος μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἅλωσιν ἐς Ῥώμην ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἤνεγκε. καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν τις Ἰουδαίων ἰδὼν, καὶ παραστὰς τῶν βασιλέως γνωρίμων τινί· ταῦτα, ἔφη, τὰ χρήματα, ἐς τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παλάτιον ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἀξύμφορον οἶμαι εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε αὐτὰ ἑτέρωθι εἶναι, ἢ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ, οὗ δὴ Σολομὼν αὐτὰ πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς ἔθετο. διὰ ταύτα γὰρ καὶ Γιζέριχος τὰ Ῥωμαίων βασίλεια εἶλε, καὶ νῦν τὰ Βανδίλων ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀνενεχθέντα βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν· ἔδεισέ τε, καὶ ξύμπαντα κατὰ τάχος ἐς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὰ ἔπεμψεν.—*De Bello Vandal.* lib. II. cap. ix. *Corpus Byzant.* tom. i. pp. 398, 399.

attention has been directed; as to the mode of their conveyance, and as to the sacred places, to which they are said to have been consigned. Gibbon says, with more than usual reverence for such matters, if indeed he meant to be reverential, but with somewhat less than his usual accuracy,—'The holy vessels of the Jewish Temple, after their long peregrination, were respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem.'[1] He does not say what church, though there must have been many churches at that period in Jerusalem. Nor is Procopius more explicit. In fact, the arrival of the Spoils at Jerusalem, though not improbable, can hardly be proved. Not that there are no subsequent historical accounts of sacred relics in that city; for we have notices, even in the next century, of many sacred things in the churches at Jerusalem, which were plundered and carried off by the Persians:[2] but there is no mention of these Jewish

Transfer to Byzantium. A.D. 534.

[1] *Decline and Fall*, chap. xli. A.D. 534.

[2] See *Chronicon Paschale*, *Corpus Byzant. Hist.*, tom. iv. p. 306; and *Contextio Gemmarum, sive Eutychii Annales*, edited by Selden and Pocock, tom. ii. pp. 211—215.

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spoils. So that I cannot but concur with Reland, that this account of their having been despatched by Justinian are the last tidings which we have of them.[1] Whether they ever reached Jerusalem is uncertain; and it is all but certain that they never came back to Rome.

Not in Rome.

39. Adrichomius, a writer of the sixteenth century, in a work on the Geography of the Holy Land, gravely tells us that the Ark of the Covenant, the Tables of the Law, the Rods of Moses and Aaron, and some portions even of the Shewbread were, in his days, in the church of S. John Lateran, in Rome,[2] but he says nothing of

[1] 'Quid porro his Spoliis acciderit, et an navis, cui credita sunt, in Palæstinam appulsa sit, aut alia his vasis reditum præciderint, nos latet. Certe Hierosolymis nunc non conspiciuntur.'—*De Spoliis*, p. 138.

[2] 'Quæ quidem omnia,' says Adrichomius, 'Arca videlicet, auro tamen nudata, Tabulæ Legis, Virgæ Moysi et Aaronis, Panes quoque Propositionis, ac quatuor columnæ, Romæ in Ecclesia S. Joannis Lateranensis adhuc conservantur.' —*Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, Sect. 77, p. 159. The same fabrication about the Ark is also repeated by Minutolius, *Dissert. Roman. Antiq. Illust.* in Sallengre's *Thesaurus*, vol. i. p. 118; and he adds, after reciting the account of Justinian's despatching the spoils

the Shewbread Table, nor of any of the other spoils in question. So that if these relics really survived the burning of Vespasian's Temple of Peace, there is probably some truth in these accounts of their having been carried away from Rome; otherwise, we should probably have heard of them again, somewhere or other, in that great storehouse of ecclesiastical antiquities, as well as of the less veritable relics, the Ark, the two Tables, and the Rods of Moses and Aaron; for these things are admitted by the Jews to have been lost on the destruction of the first Temple. Not in Rome.

40. Still, whatever may have become of these Spoils,—whether there be any truth or not in these stories of their transfer by Genseric into Africa, and of their reappearance in a second triumphal pomp, in the second great capital of the Roman empire,—these Sculptures survive, and have been bearing their testimony for nearly eighteen hundred years; a record of the desolation which our Lord foretold would come upon The Arch a Witness.

to Jerusalem, 'Plura qui cupit, adeat Lipsium, *De Magnitud. Romæ*, lib. III. c. vi.' This, however, is but a false light: I have turned to Lipsius: there is nothing more.

The Arch a Witness.

Jerusalem and upon her Temple; which was always deemed her proudest boast, as the palace of the city of the Great King. That edifice, which, through all its varying forms and fortunes, was for ages the bond of national union, the centre of the affections of every loyal son of Israel; and which fell at last only when its faithless people fell away from the covenant of the God of their fathers; rejecting the King whom He had sent to reign over them; and scornfully refusing, for forty years, all offers of the Gospel of his grace, till their City, Temple, Saviour,—all was lost.[1]

[1] 'Neque eversa est Judæorum respublica,' says Limborch, 'nisi postquam Euangelium omnibus quaquaversum Judæis prædicatum, et ab iis rejectum esset; ne quisquam se ob alterius crimen, aut totum populum ob Hierosolymitanorum solummodo crimen (uti hic facit Vir doct.) puniri conqueri posset. Idque juxta vaticinium Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, *Matt.* xxiv. 14: "Et prædicabitur hoc Euangelium Regni in universo orbe" (quousque nempe Judæi sunt dispersi) "in testimonium omnibus gentibus;" (quod nempe non ob crimen solum Hierosolymitanorum, sed totius populi inter omnes gentes dispersi, templum et respublica evertatur,) "et tunc veniet consummatio."'—*De Verit. Relig. Christ. Amica Collatio cum erudito Judæo.* Quæst. II. cap. vi. p. 252. See also the remainder of

41. We see then how this Arch subserves a purpose, which was never thought of by the Romans who erected it. They built it to perpetuate the triumph of their arms, and of the great general who had led them to victory. They have exhibited him and his victorious army in what they deemed the summit of human glory; and with the view to transmit to future times some record of the power and splendour of that empire, which, as it had extended to the ends of the known world, they fondly thought would also last for ever. Their visions of glory have long since vanished; while these records of their fallen power and grandeur serve to establish the claims of *that* Kingdom, which was destined to succeed their fourth great monarchy; to surpass the utmost limits of the Roman sway; to be spread out under the whole heaven; an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away:[1] and which had already begun, much to the annoyance of the votaries of Heathendom,[2]

Subserves a purpose alien from that of its Authors.

this able and interesting answer to Orobio: 'De præsenti Judæorum dispersione, et qua ratione in ea ut populus separatus subsistant.'

[1] *Daniel* vii. 3—14.

[2] Witness those indignant

to take root amongst them far and near, before the destruction of those typical services, which perished for ever with the Jewish Temple.

Its Lessons to us.

42. There are also other thoughts that naturally arise, as we look at these memorials of a Church and of an Empire which have long since passed away. What a lesson do they read to every Christian nation, especially to such a nation as ours, to know the times of visitation, to understand our privileges and our duties, to see why God has so richly endowed us with the light of his truth and the power of diffusing it; to be like Israel, a blessing in the midst of the earth: and to know when God is coming near us in distress of nations, tribulation, perplexity; the shaking of the powers of the political firmament, that

lines of Rutilius on the progress of the Gospel, to the extrusion of the gods of old Rome, by despised and subjugated Jews. 'Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset, Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi. Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt, Victoresque suos natio victa premit.'—*Iter.* i. 395. 'Would that Judæa ne'er had fallen a prey To Pompey's arms and Titus' princely power! The exscinded pest still wider works its way; The conquered trample on their conqueror.'

the Kingdom that cannot be shaken may remain![1] Its Lessons to us.

For there are, no doubt, for every people, as for every soul of man, definite times of visitation, of which one must be the last. Hence it concerns us to mark and understand the grace and mercy of that visitation, as well as that it has its appointed limit.[2] Jerusalem unhappily would know neither: Jerusalem was accordingly crushed to the earth. Her beautiful House was made desolate, her children were dispersed throughout the world; and so must they continue till they welcome with blessing the long-rejected King of Israel.[3]

43. And yet, what a striking contrast is their state, even in their present fall and dispersion, to that of the conquerors, who erected this Arch to commemorate their domination over them! Though no longer enjoying any political existence, they exist as a people in almost every country in the world; in regions which their conquerors never reached; where not even the Roman name was known; bearing about with them the same The Romans gone—the Jews surviving.

[1] *Luke* xxi. 25—27; *Heb.* xii. 26, 27.

[2] Stier on *Luke* xix. 43, 44.

[3] *Matt.* xxii. 7; xxiii. 39.

The Romans gone—the Jews surviving.

distinctive marks of race and of religion, as when our Lord predicted the fall of their commonwealth, and when Titus led them through the streets of Rome in fetters. They abide, as it is predicted, 'they shall abide, many days,'—now the days of nearly eighteen hundred years,—'without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim.'[1] For they are now as adverse to all idol worship as they were prone to it in former times.

To what end?

44. But are they to continue in this state? Are they to be merely witnesses of those glorious promises to others, of which they are not to be partakers themselves? Is the Trumpet-call never to be heard again in Israel, summoning together their scattered children? Is the light of their Candlestick quenched for ever? Is the Holy Table never again to be spread for them, in testimony that the Lord is keeping house amongst them; feeding them with the Bread of his presence, the joy and strength of man's heart?

[1] *Hosea* iii. 4.

Surely, the word of promise tells us, that Israel's present doom is not to last for ever. 'They shall seek the Lord their God, and David their King; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.'[1] To what end?

'It shall come to pass that the great Trumpet shall be blown;'—not the silver trumpet for the restoration of the Tabernacle, but the great mystic Trumpet of the world's jubilee:[2]—'and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the Lord in the Holy Mount at Jerusalem.'[3]

The sacred Table shall be again set up for them,—as it is indeed for all God's people now,

[1] *Hosea* iii. 5.

[2] That is, not the *Chatzotzerah*, but the *Shophar*; as it is here, *Isaiah* xxvii. 13.

[3] This is part of a great prophecy which seems to belong to the last age of the present dispensation; and which could not have been fulfilled, as Vitringa has shown, in the days of Hezekiah, nor in the return from Babylon, nor as yet in these times of the Gospel. Assyria and Egypt are probably the two great mystic world-powers which will fall before the final trumpet-call to Israel. See Vitringa on *Isaiah* xxvii. 13; and his Ἐπίμετρον ad cap. xi. 15, *De Assyriâ mysticâ*.

To what end?

—in thankful remembrance of a greater redemption than that of Israel by the Angel of the Covenant: who still leads and feeds his chosen in the wilderness; still sends them Bread from heaven, and admits to communion and fellowship with Him, not the members of one tribe only, but 'the spiritual house, the holy priesthood' of all who are true believers in his name.[1]

The great Candlestick shall be again lighted up for them with the light of the knowledge of God's glory, in Him who is the very Light of Light; who walks in the midst of his golden candlesticks; whose light shall then be seven times multiplied. 'For the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.'[2]

[1] 1 *Peter* ii. 5, 9. [2] *Isaiah* xxx. 26.

VESPASIANUS.

A.U.C. DCCCXXIV. A.D. LXXI.

TITUS VESPASIANUS.

A.U.C. DCCCXXXIII. A.D. LXXX.

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